LIFE

OF

GENERAL DUMOURIEZ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

NON OMNIS MORIAR.

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GENERAL DUMOURIEZ.

BOOK III.

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CHAP. I.

Picture of France.

THE terms government and constitution have always been confounded in France. The monarchy subsisted during the space of 1400 years, and as the government was destitute of any fixed and certain basis, it necessarily experienced an infinite number of shocks and variations. Nothing short of a constitution could regulate its progress, by placing it on a stable foundation.

Without going further back than the time of Louis XIII, it may be fairly afferted Vol. II. B that

that the kings of France have always supported their authority in an arbitrary manner. Louis XIII, or rather his prime minister, the cardinal de Richlieu, governed by terrour; Louis XIV by dignity. Louis XV, after a brilliant reign until 1748, dwindled into contempt. From that moment these two supports of the French monarchy, terrour and dignity, were no longer within the grasp of its administration.

The reign of the duke de Choiseul was more brilliant than solid; his credit fell prostrate before that of a vile * courtezan. The monarch no longer possessed dignity, the minister could no more inspire terrour, and the government experienced a rapid degradation.

The short reign of the duke d'Aiguillon was only distinguished by the gloomy desire of imitating his grand uncle; but possessing neither his vigour nor his genius, and being despised even by a despicable monarch, he had still more enseebled the absolute authority of the prince by the efforts made by

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^{*} Madame Dubarry.—Trans.

him to sustain it, because those efforts confisted solely in intrigues. It was necessary in France, if the king wished to be master, that he should either reign himself, or permit somebody to reign in his place. Louis XV neither did the one nor the other.

Another cause of the stability or destruction of all governments, consists in the state of the sinances. The wars of Louis XIV, and those of Louis XV, but still more the enormous depredations which were committed, annihilated the grand principle on which the strength of kings and the tranquillity of nations is founded.

Plutarch faid many years ago, "Nothing is more likely to produce diforders in a state, than to render the public revenue the prey of favour, rather than the recompense of services."

In this point of view, the abuses that had taken place were carried to extremes. The administration of the finances had become a kind of *Pharaoh* table. Every controller-general brought along with him his bank, that is to say, his projects for sucking the blood of the people. The moment

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he broke another was ready to supply his place. The courtiers sported with minifters; they made or unmade them, just as it was likely to ensure their plunder; and they themselves despised a government which they could disturb at their pleasure, by the placing or displacing of their own puppets.

No constitutional body existed which could bridle these dilapidations. The parliaments indeed affected the superintendance of them; but they were either bought over, or their vain remonstrances were ridiculed; and when they gave any degree of trouble to Louis XV, he was accustomed by means of his chancellor Maupeou to dissolve them, and create new judicial magistrates, under the name of superiour councils.

The nobility did not form a body. The clergy constituted a separate republic, from which free gifts were exacted. Some provinces enjoyed states, but the moment they presumed to employ just remonstrances, they were treated as rebels. The people were considered as nothing. Public evils were at their full height. For the last twenty years a general bankruptcy had been announced.

nounced. The abbé Terry, the most wicked and the most able of the controllers-general of that reign, had the impudent honesty to affert that it was indispensable. Louis XV dared not to attempt it. Plunged into an abys of apathy and debauchery, he deemed himself extremely happy in putting off the evil hour by heaping debts upon debts, without caring what might become of his successor.

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A death worthy his debauchery, at length disembarrassed France of him, and placed his grandson, the unfortunate Louis XVI, a prince deserving of a better sate, on the throne. Never did a monarch commence his career with purer intentions, or was worse seconded, more betrayed, or more thwarted. The moral virtues, goodness, justice, economy, moderation, and the most precious of all, a distrust of his own inexperience, and the mediocrity of his talents: these qualifications pierced through the deficiencies of a very negligent education, and even of a very clownish person.

The first step taken by him, with an intention truly praiseworthy, was to summon

B 3

to his affiftance an old man of eighty, formerly possessed of great talents, and an able minister, whom twenty years of exile ought to have cured of the vices of a court. This miserable man has proved the destruction of his master, who had selected him for his Mentor; he now proved as much attached to frivolity and buffoonery, as he had been during his youth; he furrounded him with a frivolous court: led aftray a young queen, who possessed a great character, and to whose way of thinking he might have given a better direction; feduced the king's brothers by his complaifance for their prodigality, and completed the scheme of ruining France, and of rendering its government despicable.

This is the man who opened the fatal box, whence all the calamities and crimes of Frenchmen have issued. Unhappy Louis, unfortunate queen, it was Maurepas who was the original cause of your martyrdom! If he had possessed a heart, if he had been penetrated with the extent of the duties which the confidence of a young monarch imposed upon him, you would have still survived;

furvived; and if France had not possessed a constitution, at least its government would have resumed its dignity, and the people would have blessed the Mentor of a good king!

His death would have been a public benefit, if in this feeble and corrupted court there had been one worthy man, whom Louis XVI could have opposed to the torrent of depravity and weakness, which then shook, and was soon about to overturn his throne. Thirty-eight ministers, who in the space of fourteen years traversed the tottering edifice of the monarchy, gave a finishing blow to its foundations. Necker had the courage to expose himself to the premiership. He possessed honest intentions, and some talents: but he was a foreigner, utterly unacquainted with France; it would have been necessary for him either to have been a prince of the blood, or one of the most noble casts in the kingdom, in order to have combated, with fuccess, personal interest, insolence, knavery, avarice, and all the passions which erected an impenetrable barrier between him and his mafter. The two

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grand supports of government, terrour and dignity, were also wanting. Although below the universal enthusiasm he inspired, he was yet above the general contempt with which he was covered during the last moments of his ministry.

Louis XVI during his whole reign was the sport of those very persons whom he most loved. Not being able to inculcate real vices, they contrived to inspire him with factitious ones, fuch as anger and the love of wine. But they employed a still more terrible weapon to difgrace him: this was ridicule. To this may be added the blunders and the follies committed by the higher ranks of the court, the process about the necklace*, and a variety of scandalous anecdotes; in short, the black cloud of scorn was collecting over the royal heads. The storm at length burst, and then there was not a fingle man to be found in that court who had the courage to facrifice himself to

^{*} The author here alludes to the famous story of the diamond necklace, in which the queen, cardinal de Rohan, and a female adventurer called the countess de la Motte, were implicated.—Trans.

fave this good prince. All fled, abandoned him, and carried into a foreign land their complaints and their rage, and thus increased that tempest to which they permitted him to expose himself, alone and unattended.

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Louis was destitute of forethought. purity of his own mind made him feek out remedies for the calamities of his subjects. After having abolished statute labour * and the torture; after having endeavoured to attain a great naval force by the construction of a fea-port; after having established economy, as far as in him lay, by great changes in his domestic and military household, he thought to complete all by convoking the nation, not, like his predecessors, to deceive and oppress, but to consult with it, like the good father of a family, relative to the wounds of the state. The nation had already anticipated him by studying those subjects with which it had hitherto but little occupied its attention.

The American war did not form great generals, but the young men employed in it, had an opportunity of examining a new people, who were governed by a fage constitution. Their heads became giddy. They brought home ill digested ideas, and wishing to adapt them to the national genius, they set on fire, and lighted up a volcano which has covered with ruins and with rubbish this land of happiness.

The phlegm and fagacity of the Americans was wanting; had they possessed these, those modern legislators might have proved useful.

Louis began his reign by recalling the parliaments, and he proved by this that he was not afraid of remonstrances. But Brienne, a shuffling, weak, and persidious minister, followed the steps of his predecessors, and excited by a keeper of the seals, as great a Marplot, and more hot headed than himself, issued out lettres de cachet against the parliament of Paris in 1787, which served no other purpose than to discover the weakness of the court, and enlighten the people. Brienne and Lamoignon were indeed sacrificed, but the evil was irreparable.

Soon after this the quarrels of Necker and Calonne Calonne developed the mysterious science of the sinances, and all the world then spoke, wrote, and reflected on the principles of government, and it began to be perceived, that they must seek somewhere else for resources against the evils with which their own was overwhelmed.

The diffrace of Necker completed the public chagrin. The nation was in this critical state when Louis and his ministers called her in to their assistance.

Calonne had procured the diffrace of Necker, and the attachment of the public for the latter rendered the part of his successor still more difficult to be sustained: he displayed much ability, many resources, and above all, was very daring; but did he possess those virtues which inspire considence? He drew up a grand plan of the sinances in four separate memoirs; it is said that the two last, which they did not give him time to make sufficiently known, are well executed.

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He was afraid to convene the states general. The court had already committed a great errour respecting this constitutional refource;

fource; it had employed several writers to search into the origin, the powers, and the rights, of those assemblies. The parliament, on being consulted, had pronounced that it was necessary to constitute them according to the model of 1614, the last which were held in France, and in which the nation was tricked; but the parliament had been then represented in a body like the three orders, and this selfish decision made it lose the considence of the nation, which henceforth began to contrive the means of annihilating a corps which in such an important matter was intirely swayed by its own pretensions.

Calonne, hoping to be able to get his fyftem adopted in an affembly of notables, was refolved to elude the desperate remedy of affembling the states general. His erroneous calculations turned to his own disadvantage, and produced his disgrace. Necker was recalled; he owed every thing to the favour of the people, and he was desirous to prove his gratitude, and thus render their attachment permanent. He accordingly procured the samous decision relative to the double representation

representation of the third estate, and it was under all these unfavourable auspices that the states general of 1789 commenced their operations. The court perceived that it was undone. The history of the revolution will detail all the blunders which it committed with a design to retard its ruin, and which served no other purpose than to precipitate it headlong, and render its fall more terrible. Dumouriez has never had either time or ability to search into these sacts, and he is now writing merely his own history.

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Of the Revolution of 1789.

while a culon to retard its rain, and which

served no other company than to precipitate During the journey of the count d'Artois to Cherbourg in 1786, Dumouriez had contracted an intimacy with the count de Vaudreuil, the favourite of that prince, and his old acquaintance at college, to whom he had given apartments in his own house. Their different habits and professions in life had feparated them until then, and they were now happy to meet once more. Vaudreuil possessed a good heart, considerable talents, and a great attachment for the count d'Artois, a very amiable prince, who flood in need of nothing but wholesome advice. Dumouriez being at Paris during the winter of 1788-9, wished to make use of Vaudreuil's credit, on purpose to influence his opinions. Mirabeau, whose villany was only equalled by his genius, had joined the popular party with a design to avenge himself on the court, which by its frequent lettres de cachet was rather blamable in shielding him from the just rigours of the law, than in

punishing his crimes.

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He forefaw that the people, in the hands of a man of this description, who possessed an aftonishing power of speech, would become a terrible instrument, if a rampart were not opposed to him. A puerile dispute at this time divided the court. They intrigued about the grand butiness of the nation, as they were formerly accustomed to do about trifles. Neither the parliaments, nor the nobility, nor the clergy, nor the good third estate, dreamed of forming a coalition to humble, or at least to balance the factious: notwithstanding this the states general were resolved upon, and Mirabeau, who had acquired the confidence of the duke of Orleans, and by his means of the populace of Paris, was about to become the head of a formidable party.

Dumouriez wished for the convocation of the states general; he had no manner of doubt but the nation was sufficiently enlightened, enlightened, not to permit itself to be frightened or deceived; he thought that, conscious of its own power, it would bring about a great reform, and produce the regeneration of France by constituent laws, which would henceforth preclude the favourites of our kings from replunging the monarchy into those frightful extremities, which forced Louis XVI to throw himfelf into the arms of his people. He hoped that the choice of the provinces, in the election of their deputies, would fall on intelligent, liberal, and free minded men, possessed of honest intentions; and that thus, either Mirabeau would be excluded, or act only the part of an intriguing adventurer.

But the more he reflected on the force and the wisdom of that assembly, the more he was alarmed for the conduct of a frivolous, unthinking, and presumptuous court, that dreaded nothing so much, in the new order of things, as the diminution of its expenses, the cessation of pillage, and the annihilation of abuses, which it considered as connected with its very existence; a court debased by its puerilities, which were exaggerated by the activity

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activity of calumny, destitute of the proper idea of its own weakness when put in competition with twenty-fix millions of men; divided into parties, which kept up no communication with each other; and abusing the good nature of its chief, whom it did not fufficiently respect. In short, he trembled lest this court should precipitate the ruin of the monarchy by despotic measures which would irritate the nation, and force it into the most fatal extremities. He accordingly predicted a civil war, short indeed in respect to its duration, which would annihilate the court, but which, very unfortunately, would at the same time ensure the destruction of the monarch.

Replete with these fears, he solicited an interview with Vaudreuil, to whom he unburdened his mind, and anticipated all the dangers of the king, if he were not presented to the eyes of the assembled nation, surrounded with all the attributes of majesty. Vaudreuil was of the same opinion.

It was necessary to begin by putting a stop to the divisions that rent the court asunder, so that by its reunion it might assume Vol. II. C greater

greater dignity and inspire more considence, in order that the nobility, the clergy, the parliament, and the sound part of the nation, which at that period was the most numerous, might rally around the throne, and support it against the factious, who strove to overwhelm the monarchy, instead of fixing it on a constitutional basis. Vaudreuil, who felt a great personal attachment for the count d'Artois, agreed to every thing. This prince was at variance with the queen, and Monsieur was not only embroiled with her majesty, but also with the count d'Artois.

Dumouriez observed to Vaudreuil that it became the count d'Artois, who had the reputation of great frankness, to make the first advances to the queen, as this would undoubtedly produce at the same time a reconciliation on the part of Monsseur, and thus create a general coalition in favour of the king. Vaudreuil accordingly drew up a plan dictated by Dumouriez, in which the conduct that prince ought to adopt was pointed out, and even the speech which he was to make on seeing the queen. Vaudreuil

dreuil told him two days afterwards, that this negotiation had miscarried.

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Dumouriez had also another subject of disquietude, and that was relative to the choice of the place in which the states-general were to be affembled. Paris began already to discover many symptoms of fermentation. That city, like all very populous capitals, was the centre of corruption and intrigues. If the states-general were to meet there, they might either be influenced by the gold and the arts of a court unacquainted with any other spring of action, or divided into violent and irreconcileable parties by means of the factious. The fame dangers existed at Versailles, where the court neither governed by terrour, nor by dignity. He was also convinced that this court, when too narrowly examined, would inspire scorn in an affembly invefted with an enormous power, and that the weakness of the means adopted to paralize its deliberations, could only irritate them.

He spoke on this subject to Mr. de Male-sherbes, formerly a minister, but who had refigned his functions on purpose to live like C 2 a philosopher,

a philosopher, and who has fince abandoned his retreat for the most noble of all duties, that of presenting himself as the defender of the unfortunate Louis. This enlightened man was convinced of the justice of these observations, and took upon him to bring over Laluzerne, the minister of the marine, who was his nephew, to the same way of thinking. Dumouriez, on the other hand, agreed to make his fears known to Mr. de Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs, with whom he was well acquainted, and who possessed much of the king's confidence, having been brought up along with him. They pointed out Bourges, or Tours, which are both central fituations; and they added, that it was necessary during the session of the states, that the court should reside at four or five leagues distance from the asfembly.

Their efforts were useless. The royal family, the court, the ministers themselves, were biassed by their habits, their pleasures, and their intrigues, in favour of Versailles and Paris.

By the most fallacious of all calculations, they In-

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they deemed themselves stronger there than in the provinces; they imagined that the grandeur of a court would dazzle the deputies, and that its politics would direct them. Montmorin announced it as a victory, that he had at length been able to obtain the convocation of the states at Versailles. At the moment when he spoke thus, there were but few persons present. Dumouriez, who was one of them, could not forbear from fighing aloud before madame de Montmorin and the chevalier de Coigny, at the anticipation of the misfortunes which he forefaw. The minister was not at all pleased with his conduct, and this circumstance occasioned a coolness to take place between them. He returned no more to Versailles, as he from that moment regarded all those who reigned there, as so many imprudent children who were playing with live coals that would fooner or later fet the house on fire.

The king and his brothers, although still young, had yet arrived at the age of maturity, but they had not one friend about their persons capable of inspiring them with solid resections, or inculcating that grave and

C 3 prudent

prudent conduct, so necessary in critical circumstances. Courtiers endeavour to prolong the youth, and even the infancy of princes, because their credit is augmented in proportion to the frivolity, the silliness, and the sutile pleasures of their masters. The moment a prince becomes a man, he may have friends, but he has no longer favourites.

A great question at this time agitated Paris, and was discussed every where, more especially in a society much frequented by Dumouriez. This society was composed of the two young Crillons, sons to the conqueror of Mahon; the elder had been his companion at college, and with the younger he had formed an acquaintance in Spain. Another friend of the same date, prince Emanuel de Salm-Salm, was a member of this club, as were also the duke de Liancourt, Kersaint, and several others; all of them have been since members of the national assembly.

This important question was relative to the manner of voting. Some were for voting by poll; and they were in the right, if they meant the states general to prove useir-

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ful. Others were for voting by orders. It was this manner of voting that had rendered all the preceding affemblies abortive, because the nobility and the clergy participating in the profits derived from existing abuses, and the court being able to influence them by means of benefices and pensions, the third estate must have always been in a minority, as it would have been but one against two.

Dumouriez, with a defign to elucidate this question, composed a pamphlet entitled, "The instructions of a balliage which will not fend deputies to the states general." He affixed to it as a motto a Socratic argument which decided in favour of the voting by poll by throwing ridicule on the question itself. Here follows the motto. "How shall they vote, to decide how they ought to vote? Shall they vote by orders, to afcertain if they be to vote by poll? or shall they vote by poll, to decide if they be to vote by orders?" This little tract confifted of forty pages. He added to it the speech of a deputy at the opening of the affembly, and a plan for the division of the affembly itself into several chambers, to facilitate its immense labours relative to all

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parts

parts of the government, in order to regenerate it upon a constitutional and solid foundation, which in the end would become the fundamental law and the invariable support of the monarchy.

The elder Crillon, a virtuous man, and replete with affection for his country and his king, caused twelve hundred copies of this to be printed, and distributed them among the members of the states on their convocation.

Dumouriez fet off foon after for Cherbourg, keeping up however an intimate correspondence with this Crillon, The two brothers formed part of the forty-feven members of the nobility who first united themselves to the third estate at the opening of the states general, and who were accompanied by a part of the lower clergy. The petty intrigue of the court, which prevented the re-union of the orders, was still more clumsy than criminal. If those members of the nobility and the clergy had not adopted the plan of rejoining it, the third estate, which of itself composed the moiety of the whole national representation, had determined to open the fession without them.

them. This schism would have instantly produced the overthrow of the monarchy.

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The conduct of the third estate during the course of this whole year, was prudent, noble, and moderate; for it is to be observed that all its decisions were then sage and circumspect, and that it was with the nobility and the clergy that the suppression of all their own rights and privileges originated, on account of the reciprocal ill will of the two orders towards each other, as also the declaration of the rights of man. As it was the abuse of this declaration which produced all the evils of France, Dumouriez will here detail the objections which he unsuccessfully made to this imprudent act, which originated with La Fayette and the other aukward imitators of the American legislators; whose intentions, however, and more especially La Fayette's, were pure. This declaration forms the natural basis of all human societies. They were only deficient in point of skill as to the application; they were unacquainted with their own nation; they possessed and imagination; and they were misled by metaphysicians equally unexperienced with themselves. But

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errours of this kind are productive of terrible consequences.

The French until this period, more especially in the provinces, had never employed their thoughts on the subject of government. Discontented, because they were oppressed, they naturally languished for a change; their attention was wholly taken up with the nomination of deputies, the depositaries of all their confidence; it belonged to them to create a good constitution, and to enact good No one contested the rights of the people, for they exercised them in all their plenitude in this very national affembly; it was therefore unnecessary to give them any preliminary knowledge of the rights of man, and the impetuous character of their volcanic nation rendered its promulgation infinitely dangerous.

Dumouriez in one of his publications compares it to the Eleusinian mysteries. Knowing what a bad use the French would make of it, he said that it was first necessary to trace out to every individual of regenerated France, from the king to the indigent citizen, the exact knowledge of his duties, which

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hich were were to be elucidated by means of good laws teaching him how to fulfil them; that they might afterwards, if they so chose, make the nation acquainted with the rights by means of which the legislators had operated in its name; that the constitution ought to be an edifice regular in its architecture, of which the declaration of rights was only the feaffolding used in the construction; and that when the building was finished; it was unnecessary to present the nation the plan of this scaffolding, which ought indeed no longer to subsist; that, in short, if they considered the declaration of rights as the introduction to the constitution, it would be like placing the book before the preface; that fuch had been the conduct of the Americans, whom they wished to hold up as models; that it was not until after having laid down the duties of man, that they had chalked out his rights; that, if the declaration of rights preceded the enaction of the laws, a ceffation of government would necessarily ensue, and a confusion which would produce a dangerous influence on the affembly itself, and render

render its labours precipitate and imper-

It might have been fairly faid that this was the voice of one crying aloud in the defert. The vanity of the metaphysicians, the wits, and the novices in legislation, misled them. The declaration appeared; it was interpreted in a wrong sense by the people, who confounded their force with their rights, and the anarchy became universal.

Another question, equally fatal with the former, also divided men's minds in the course of this year—it was that of the veto. Dumouriez will here also detail the objections which he unsuccessfully drew up on this occasion. The veto was the most dangerous privilege they could bestow upon the king; it might be considered as his death-warrant, although it was then impossible to discover the whole extent of the danger.

"Either the king was invested simply with the executive power; and in that case he should not exercise a prohibitory right in the confection of laws, as he himself ought to submit to them, and his power ought to extend no further than their execu-

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tion: or, he was to be allowed a co-legislative authority, and then it was not a prohibitory right which they ought to grant him, for he ought to anticipate in the enaction of the laws with the states general or the constituent assembly. The honour of a negative was nothing elfe than to confide arms to his hands, of which he might make an ill use by preventing the enacting of laws, or a fource of discord between him and the legislators; and as the latter were invested with all the authority of the nation, he must always be overcome in so unequal a contest; the veto was therefore an illufory right, a fnare spread for the monarch." The court imagined it had gained every thing by obtaining this victory. It had accordingly purchased Mirabeau, and many other members, and this corruption completed the general ruin.

Dumouriez need only to have become a candidate, to have been elected a member of the constituent assembly. His friends pressed him, and in all probability he would have succeeded, if he had presented himself at Lizieux, as the representative of the claims of

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who possessed two lordships in that canton. He refused to comply,

1st, Because he did not think himself suf-

And 2dly, Because he was attached to a tranquil state of life, and his command at Cherbourg.

He at that period hoped that the constituent assembly would be able to regenerate France. In this case he expected to succeed in his plans relative to Cherbourg, the works of which he was desirous to see resumed, and executed on a grand scale.

He even drew up several memorials on this subject, which he transmitted to his old friend Latouche, a captain in the navy, who was unfortunate enough to become chancellor of Orleans, and a member of the constituent assembly, and of the marine committee.

Domouriez was also asraid lest his residence with the assembly should have been made a pretext for dismissing him from his command. He had formed himself this asylum

afylum at Cherbourg, and he wished to preferve it, not then foreseeing that an epoch would foon arrive, when no Frenchman could possess any certain home in his unhap-

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He contented himself therefore with drawing up instructions for the deputies of the nobility of Cotentin. His friends to whom he entrusted them having communicated these papers, they were rejected with disdain, because he proposed that the nobility themfelves should make an offer to sacrifice those pecuniary privileges, of which they were foon about to be deprived. Other balliages were more reasonable; and, among the rest, that of Beauvais, directed by the count de Crillon.

As foon as it was known that he had composed these instructions, the nobility determined never to pardon him; he was supposed to be attached to the popular party, and this was then reckoned a crime. They considered him as a foldier of fortune, and even as a plebeian, because when he became a general officer he neglected to affume

fume any title like the rest of his brethren, and that from mere carelessness, for having no children, he had never been at the pains to tell the world whether he were a noble or not. ey confident

are the characteristic fine and in the second of the ba and to a mineral sale to any the Sale of go butter of Covert on A Partition to whom he skill the all inverted and the substitute language and think a min but of a other pale more Veries to with a content that the bolomorphy was placed Stody statistics and his Complete town add are when it do works gong the view of support Solit ed be deprived. Other bolle of he siled. core real enable; ded comparth office that of algabraics climber by the contract to

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Disturbances in Normandy. Revolt at Cherbourg, 1789.

lent aguators into the provinces, who tiffed ALL the legal authorities throughout France had ceased; there was no longer any government. The parliaments neither dared to repress license, nor to distribute justice. The intendants and their delegates were not only deprived of their functions, but the greater part of them had fled, dreading the vengeance of the people. The governors, the commanders of provinces, and those superintending particular districts, still exercised a small degree of authority over the garrisons, because the army was yet undecided as to the part it should act. It however confifted, even including the officers, rather of revolutionists than royalists, and every town for its own defence had formed a municipal council which precarioufly Von II. united

united and exercised all kinds of power whatever. France in every thing resembled the Achæan league, except in this, that there was no agreement between the cities and the provinces.

The court and constituent assembly were at open war, they endeavoured mutually to annoy one another, and each party had sent agitators into the provinces, who stirred them up sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other. The grand secret for alarming the people, and seducing them to commit excesses, was to terrify them with the idea of a famine, and to produce a partial scarcity, either by pillaging the magazines and the markets, or by arresting and maltreating the corn factors, and dealers in grain.

It was in this state that he found Normandy. The duke de Harcourt remained about the king's person; the duke de Beuvron, his brother, commanded in his stead. The latter nobleman, losing his senses at the least commotion, and throwing himself into real dangers by precipitate measures, had the imprudence to cause three gibbets

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gibbets to be erected at Caen, to which certain wits belonging to the popular party, who then braved every thing, attached three porringers full of milk, with this inscription: "milk for the cats."

He was furrounded by two or three general officers, who endeavoured to prevent him from the commission of many palpable follies. Dumouriez was admitted into the council, and as it was known that he was beloved by the people, he received letters of command for the whole of Lower Normandy.

He travelled from town to town, and from market to market, making use of all possible means of conciliation, yet sometimes employing troops for the purpose of escorting convoys of provision, and establishing tranquillity. By these means he so far succeeded in regaining the public considence, that the circulation of corn from city to city, and even from one province to another, was resumed. He caused grain to be purchased in England, and making use of the king's sishing-smacks which were at Cherbourg, he was enabled to send provision by

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means of the rivers as far as St. Lô, which is a central point, whence he distributed it throughout the whole of the Lower Normandy.

He every where found the people furious against the duke de Beuvron, on account of the gibbets he had erected, and a proclamation he had ordered to be posted up in Caen, prohibiting the assembling of the people, and commanding the troops, when they found sive persons assembled together in the streets to disperse them, and in case of refusal, to sire on them. The soldiers themselves murmured at this ill timed act of authority, and swore they would not execute it.

In short, he found the minds of all men fo irritated against the duke, that he thought himself bound to intimate this circumstance to his brother, and solicit his return to refume the command.

He himself however was nowhere infulted by the people, notwithstanding they had become exceedingly turbulent; on the contrary, at his appearance, they were instantly appeared. Notwithstanding this, the agitators displayed too much activity for him h

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him to be able to re-establish a durable tranquillity. What occurred at Paris in the months of June and July completed the derangement of all the measures he had adopted on this subject. The disturbances about the grain served only as a mask for other designs.

The court wished to annihilate the constituent assembly; it, on the other hand, was
eager to arm and derive support from the
people. A council of state was held at
Marly, the result of which was to dismiss
M. Necker, who was then the idol of the
French. Troops had been marched towards Paris: foreign had been chosen in
preference to native regiments, and the
command had been given to the marshal de
Broglio. The governors of provinces were
at the same time sent to their respective
posts, because commotions were expected.

A blind despotism had dictated the most imprudent measures. Not only Dumouriez remained ignorant of all this, but although he was intimately connected with the family of Beuvron, he was considered as a suspicious person, merely on account of the respect he

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was held in by the people. In truth he had never concealed his fentiments. Every body was acquainted with his intimacy with the greater part of the forty-seven nobles, and his wishes for the reform of abuses; he had also constantly panegyrised the pure intentions of Necker.

On the roth of July, having appealed a fedition at Carentan, after having fent four companies of grenadiers and light infantry, and two four pounders to the duke de Beuvron, because he had good reason to be afraid of the populace of Caen, he repaired to that nobleman's house, and there found more than fixty ladies, and double the number of nobles, all of whom affumed a triumphant air. On his approaching the duchefs fhe exclaimed very imprudently, in a loud tone of voice, " Well, Dumouriez, you do not know the great news? Your friend Necker is difgraced; the king will now reascend his throne, and the affembly be diffolved; your friends, the forty-seven, are perhaps at this very moment in the Bastille with Mirabeau. Target, and a hundred more of the infolent orators of the third estate; and most affuredly

furedly the marshal de Broglio is in Paris, at this very moment, at the head of 30,000 troops."

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"So much the worse, madame la duchesse," replied he, and taking the duke under the arm, carried him into his closet. He then faid : " What madame de Beuvron has announced, cannot occur without fpilling much blood, and if the king should succeed in so violent a measure, he is irretrievably loft; but in the mean time you are detefted here, we are not the stronger party; depend but little on the troops, they will not fire upon the people, and your wife will cause you to be massacred on account of her imprudence." The duke, who was brave enough in the face of an enemy, but who did not possess that species of courage so necessary during popular tumults, was at first intimidated. He called the duchess; both of them foold her; she is affrighted; they return into the faloon; the former clamour is changed into a folemn filence, and every body retires.

The duke de Harcourt arrived next day.

A council was then held, at which the mar
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quis d'Hauteseuille, a major-general, assisted. It was agreed that the enterprize against Paris, whatever turn it might take, could not but produce a dangerous effect at Caen; and that it was necessary to make the duke de Beuvron withdraw instantly. They accordingly dispatched him in the course of that very day to Cherbourg, where it was hoped that his imprudent conduct had not as yet rendered him odious, and where he had fix battalions at his disposal, one of which consisted of the marine artillery. When he was gone it was resolved that the two duchesses should retire immediately to Harcourt.

Dumouriez lodged with the intendant, on purpose to protect him, and to be near the duke de Harcourt, whom he had determined not to leave. This nobleman, more prudent and reserved than his brother, waited with great solicitude for intelligence from Paris, and at the same time affected to wave the subject.

In the mean time Dumouriez was charged with the command of the troops, which confifted of two battalions of the regiment

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of Bourbon infantry, four companies of light infantry and grenadiers, and one hundred and fifty men of the regiment of cavalry called the cammiffaire-general; and he could add to this little garrifon the burghers guard of more than two thousand men, well clothed and armed, which altogether would be sufficient to defend the city against the two terrible suburbs of Bourg-P Abbe and Vauxcelles; these were filled with an immense population of the most indigent and sculitious class.

The castle of Caen was every where defenceless, and might be scaled on all sides. The duke de Beuvron had been imprudent enough to mount some cannon on rotten carriages, which tended still more to irritate the people.

On the 12th the duke de Coigny arrived from Paris, and brought with him the plan of the distribution of the troops under the marshal de Broglio, around the capital. He had crowded his infantry into three or four little camps, very near the city; his cavalry occupied the two plains of Grenelle and St. Denys, and his large artillery had already arrived

thrown a garrison of fifty Swiss into the Bastille. Dumouriez instantly told him, that if they persevered in maintaining so absurd and unmilitary a position, they would most assured be beaten; that the desection of the French guards ought to serve as an example of the folly of placing the troops so near the women of the town, the seduction of good cheer, and the blandishments of the Palais-royal. He besought him immediately to transmit the following disposition, and to press its adoption if it were still in time.

1°. To garrison the Bastille with a major-general and four battalions, who ought to occupy the arsenal as far as the river, and throw up a trench in their front, to separate them from the suburb St. Antoine, and the quay.

2°. To post 500 men with cannon, in the isle of Louviers, on purpose to produce a cross fire, from the batteries there, at the Bastille, and the arsenal, in case the people should attack them by the quays.

3°. To post fix battalions behind the first division, with a corps of cavalry in the peninsula

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4°. To withdraw all the little camps of the champ de Mars, the bois de Boulogne, and the champs Elisée, and assemble them on the heights of St. Cloud, Sevres, and Meudon, with the river before them, and to entrench another corps of eight or ten thousand men at St. Denys, continuing to occupy the two plains of St. Denys and Grenelle with the cavalry and hussars.

By these means Paris would have been blockaded, and the king saved; for the first movement made by Dumouriez would have been to ensure the person of Louis XVI.

The duke de Coigny sent back his valet de chambre to Paris. Dumouriez is unacquainted with the contents of his dispatch, having never seen him since.

He purposed to leave at Cherbourg, for guarding the works there, no more than the marine battalion, to affemble at Caen the regiment of cavalry, eight battalions which were in Lower Normandy, and ten four pounders which had been gotten ready at St. Lô, to advance towards Nantes, in case of need.

need. The duke d'Harcourt did not however come to any decision; he still waited for news from the capital.

On the 15th at night, intelligence at length arrived of the taking of the Bastille; the dispersion of the army, the slight of the princes and the marshal de Broglio, the triumph of the affembly, and the forced restoration of Necker to office. The duke was confounded; he had buoyed himself up with the expectation of complete fuccess. Not knowing how to act, he proposed to Dumouriez to throw himself into the castle of Caen with two battalions. The other represented that it was destitute of provision. every possible means of defence, and even of water; and that, in addition to all this, the troops themselves were not to be depended upon. He accordingly refused.

In the mean time a number of emissaries arrived from Rouen and Paris, in order to prevail upon the inhabitants to take up arms. It was no longer a mob, but the whole people, that now conceived the idea of a regular insurrection, and came with the utmost tranquillity to the governour of the province,

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on purpose to announce their resolution of forming themselves into a regular militia. It was therefore become necessary, as all opposition was in vain, to display the utmost fortitude; but the duke, now overwhelmed with chagrin, was no longer able to keep up appearances. They presented him with the three coloured cockade, forced him and all his household to wear this patriotic emblem, and also distributed a number of them among the troops.

The people still continued to treat the duke with some regard, but they narrowly watched his conduct; and he would not have been able to have left Caen had it not been for an urgent letter from Necker, which was the means of procuring him leave from the inhabitants to return to Paris. The duches also experienced much vexation at Harcourt, on the part of their vassals, so that she chose to leave that place and repair also to the capital, whence she accompanied her husband out of France.

Dumouriez had no longer any business at Caen, where the victory of the people produced tranquillity. He suffered much uneasiness, easiness, however, relative to Cherbourg, where he had sive or six millions of livres deposited in three chests, more especially as there were about seven or eight thousand strangers employed in the quarries, the magazines, and the works still carrying on in the harbour. Among these were many suspicious persons, and some who had been formerly branded for crimes.

During the former infurrections the agitators sent from Paris had been distinguished by means of their dress, which consisted of a waistcoat and trousers of striped canvas, and a round hat; these couriers of revolt were stiled carabôts. It was accompanied by a troop of this kind, that Bordier the comedian had stirred up the populace at Rouen, where he was hanged.

Particularly entrusted with the care of Cherbourg, and solicited by frequent letters from the different corporations, Dumouriez announced his intentions of repairing thither to the duke d'Harcourt, and insisted on the necessity of his immediate departure. The intendant begged him to carry along with him his subdelegate Guyard, to save him from

from the refentment of the people; he accordingly admitted him into his carriage, and fet out on the 19th.

On passing through Bayeux, St. Lô, and Carentan, he advised the civil and military commanders no longer to oppose an useless resistance to the formation of a national militia, but on the contrary to encourage it, and not only permit it to assemble with tranquillity, but even to render it formidable, on purpose to bridle the populace.

There was an arfenal at St. Lô containing fifteen thousand muskets; he therefore made the municipal council feel how necessary it was, and how nearly connected with the public safety, that its national militia should be composed of respectable citizens, and commanded by persons on whom they could rely, on purpose to guard so precious a deposit. This town has always distinguished itself by its wisdom; its insurrection was rational; its council and militia have been well chosen; it has always kept up a good correspondence with the military commanders; and it has long enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity.

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These dispositions having occupied the whole of the night of the 19th, he arrived on the 20th at Cherbourg: it was full time, intelligence of the decree for calling out the national militia had already arrived there; this was brought by emissaries, who flirred up the workmen; the people were in a state of revolt; the principal inhabitants were very uneasy, and they waited with impatience for the coming of general Dumouriez, whom eleven years refidence had made them confider as a citizen, and even as the founder of the town. He fpent that evening with the duke de Beuvron; they conversed chiefly about the necessity of refigning themselves with a good grace to an infurrection, which the least refistance might cause to degenerate into a sanguinary revolt. demand a study of hor wint blood want

The moment he had returned to his own house, he received a deputation of the burghers, who announced to him, that in the course of that day, they had prevented the people from slying to arms in a tumultuous manner, under pretext of complying with the levy of the national militia; that

that they had represented to their fellow citizens, that any extraordinary movement of the townsmen, who could at most muster two or three thousand strong, might produce a still more dangerous one on the part of eight or ten thousand men, who were employed in the quarries, the arfenals, &c.; that not only the public money for paying these workmen, but their own private property, might become a prey to these strangers, the most of whom were unknown, and even suspected; that they had advised them to wait the arrival of their general, whom they also considered as their father, and who would arrange the plan relative to the national militia in fuch a manner as would enfure the public tranquillity; that the people had not only adopted this opinion, but had unanimously appointed him commandant; that they were charged to wait upon him, and offer him this appointment, and they now supplicated him not to refuse it.

He felt that the public good, and he himfelf would experience great danger, if he should reject so honourable a station; more especially as it evinced the intire confidence

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of the people in him, notwithstanding his military rank, and his authority over a garrison of more than three thousand men. His acceptance, on the contrary, would reunite the whole power in his own hands, and enable him to bridle the excesses of the populace and the workmen.

At break of day, he went and informed the duke of this offer, who first appeared to be very much satisfied with it, but he afterwards discovered much jealousy on this account.

On the 21st of July, at ten o'clock in the morning, the people affembled in the Dumouriez defired the military church. commanders to hold the troops in readiness in case of need, without however discovering any uneafiness, and he intimated his wishes to the magistrates that they also should assemble at the same time. In about an hour afterwards, the people having nominated him commandant-general by acclamation, they sent deputies to wait on him; and scarcely had he entered the street, when a great crowd ran before him carrying a national standard, which had been made in the courfe course of the preceding night, and on which they had embroidered the following device:

Vivre libre, ou mourir *.

The people conducted him to the church, where he was received by the clergy. He invited the magistrates to repair thither, and as foon as this affembly had acquired a certain degree of dignity, he caused silence to be proclaimed, and told them, that the arming of the whole nation ought to be the precurfor of order, and of liberty; that having no external enemies, and their brethren, the troops of the line, and citizens also, professing the same principles as they did, they should consider themselves as armed against robbers and anarchists alone; that they ought not to do any thing that was not enjoined by their legislators affembled at Versailles; that the disputes between the king and that august affembly had ceased; that his perfidious counsellors had either fled or been punished; that the capital was calm; that the affembly continued its labours with tranquillity; that they ought

^{*} Liberty or death .- Tranf.

to swear on their new colours, in the presence of the God of armies, their magistrates, and their clergy, to maintain surety and tranquillity at Cherbourg; that every irregular movement would be a sedition, and a crime against liberty; and that he himself now swore to make use of the authority which they, in the sulness of their considence, had honoured him with, to punish with death every one who should disturb the public repose.

On this the oath was unanimously administered, and received, and an account was drawn up of this ceremony, which was truly

affecting.

On their leaving the church, the commandant-general invited all the citizens to accompany him, the magistrates, the clergy, and the colours, to the duke de Beuvron at the abbey, about half a mile from the town, where all the military had assembled. They accordingly marched in procession without any arms, and the duke, accompanied by the officers, left the abbey, and came out to meet them. Dumouriez then addressed him as follows: "M. le Duc, I bring you the people people of Cherbourg, who are about to arm themselves for the desence of liberty, and the laws. They have chosen me for their commander; we appear in a body to assure you, that, convinced of the goodness of your intentions for the glory and the happiness of the French nation, we will execute your orders with the utmost zeal, and we will concur with the brave troops of the line in maintaining tranquillity, protecting property, and supporting liberty."

The duke made a very noble reply. He was then placed under the standard, and entered the town in company with the commandantgeneral, amidst universal joy, and general

gladness.

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The utmost calm reigned during the whole day; the people discovered a pure and a considerate satisfaction; all the principal persons, all the corporations were selicitating each other with the utmost cordiality, when, at six o'clock in the evening, the women of the suburbs and a few men assembled before the town house, and demanded that the price of bread should be lowered. Dumouriez, on being informed of

this event, instantly repaired thither, and succeeded in dissipating the mob, by proving to them that bread, which was at only two sols and a half per pound, could not be sold cheaper without occasioning a great loss to the farmers, who would thenceforth bring no more corn to market; and that by these means they themselves would produce a famine. The agitators, who perceived that they had failed in their intentions, employed another trick, in which they succeeded better.

The mayor of the town, whose name was Garantot, united in his own person the two places of lieutenant de police, and subdelegate to the intendant. He was one of those persons who are usually called good fort of people, that is to say, men busied rather in their own affairs, than those of their neighbours. He was extremely rich, still more avaricious than wealthy, and he bore very hard upon the people. He was supposed to have more than a hundred thousand livres in ready money concealed at home.

A number of seditions persons assembled before his house. Dumouriez ran thither,

but

but while he was employed in faving it from pillage, another mob went and demanded a diminution of the price of bread from the duke de Beuvron, and also the keys of the corn magazine. He was weak enough to comply with their solicitations.

Such unexpected fuccess encouraged that band, whose number increased every moment; and they at length forced their way into the court before the mayor's house, where Dumouriez, who had mounted the steps that led to the door, was haranguing the people, who listened to him with complaisance. These rogues however overwhelmed him with injuries, told him that he was a traitor and an aristocrat, who deceived them, and that the duke de Beuvron, on the contrary, was a worthy man, who had listened to their just remonstrances; by way of proving this a huge Dutch sailor displayed the keys of the corn magazine.

The fituation of Dumouriez was at this moment very critical; he was only a companied by a serjeant and four privates belonging to the guard of the regiment de la Reine, whom he had brought to protect the

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house,

house, an exempt of the marechausse, two or three magistrates (for poor Garantot was afraid to make his appearance), and four officers who had followed him. He reflected that if he yielded, he would lose all his credit, he reckoned a traitor, and become the first victim to the rage of the banditti. He therefore determined to act a rash part, but it was the only one that was calculated to alleviate his danger.

He according exclaimed: "My children, if the duke de Beuvron has really ordered the price of bread to be lowered, it shall be instantly complied with; but you are deceived by seditious men: behold the keys of your magazines in the hands of a foreigner!"

He at the same time sprung from the step on which he stood, burst through the crowd, seized the Dutchman by the throat, and cried out, "Restore the keys, villain, or you are a dead man!" The affrighted sailor instantly dropped the keys, which he entrusted to the officer of the guard, saying at the same time to the people, "I am your father, and will be answerable for the corn magazine; I will in the mean time go and receive the orders of the duke de Beuvron, and I conjure all good citizens to guard this house until my return."

"We consent to it," they all replied,
"but on condition that you bring the
mayor with you, to issue a proclamation for
the sale of bread at two sols per pound."

"Very well, only swear to me that you will do him no harm."

" We fwear."

He then repaired to the duke de Beuvron, who frankly confessed the weakness he had been guilty of. Here was now no remedy: Garantot was brought from his lurking place. Dumouriez took hold of one arm, and Boisgelin, the son-in-law of the duke de Beuvron, of the other, and they dragged him towards his own house, in the situation of one rather dead than alive. When they were within twenty paces, they beheld the populace pillaging it.

On this he delivered over Garantot to Boisgelin, with orders to protect him, and he ran to the alarm post, which was very near, and whither he had sent a piquet of sisty

men.

men. He marched with them towards the house. Among the plunderers were many foldiers belonging to different regiments, difguised like workmen. The troops murmured, refused to obey their general, and officers, and swore that they would not fire upon the people. The pillage was accordingly completed, and the foldiers, who laughed and diverted themselves with this event, permitted the rioters to pass quietly along with the stolen moveables. This troop of robbers, among whom were many women and some foldiers, consisted of four or five hundred persons.

He then ordered the general * to be beaten. As he had before designated their respective stations, the different corps instantly repaired to them: but the soldiery still afferted that they would not interfere, and their inactivity appeared to encourage the banditti.

The national militia was in existence, and it alone could have put a stop to the diforder, but it was neither organised, armed, nor divided into companies; all its members

therefore

A particular beat of drum, by which all the infantry are affembled.—Trans.

therefore that themselves up at home, to enfure their own safety. The town remained in this state of confusion during four whole days, and it happened, very luckily, that the workmen did not interfere.

At length about ten o'clock on the morning of the fourth day, several of the inhabitants resumed courage, and provided themselves with arms; the soldiers then began to be ashamed, and they said that if the citizens would march at their head, they would soon put the banditti to slight. They were partly in the right; they themselves could not make the proper distinction, and they were not inclined to fire on the true citizens.

The mob was then pillaging the third house; but it is to be observed, that their criminal acts had been hitherto exercised on three persons with whom the people had reason to be distaissied. The first was Garantot, a harsh and avaricious man; the second was a magistrate, called Chante-Renne, who was also a merchant and ship-owner, and accused of having formerly plundered a very rich vessel; the third was a corn merchant

merchant called Mauges, a noted usurer. They had indeed attempted the houses of some contractors, and that of the commandant-general, where the national flag was deposited, under pretence of rallying around it. They were however repulsed, and one of the robbers was wounded by a thrust from a bayonet, in consequence of which he died in the course of the night.

It was in this third house that they were furrounded; one of them was precipitated from the third story and died on the spot. One hundred and eighty-feven men and thirty-nine women were fecured. Dumouriez took care not to confine them in the public prison, which might have been forced; he ordered his coach house, stables, and wood houses to be emptied, and he bound and shut them up there, with a guard of fifty foldiers, and an equal number of citizens, over them. On the morning of the next day, he caused all the men to be tied two and two along a mast which held a file of about fixty of them; he had shallops ready, and he ordered them to be embarked, and lodged in the hold of two old ships of

war.

merchant.

war, which were anchored in the road, to affift the works carrying on in the port; and as to the women, they were confined in an old tower within the town.

He then sent for the lieutenant of the marshalsea of the peninsula, who resided at Coutances, and the hangman of Caen. He organised the militia, which had not as yet assumed the name of national guards, and divided it into twenty-one companies, three of which were composed of failors and carpenters, to whom was particularly entrusted the protection of the port. The magistrates were removed, nominated anew by the people, and were termed, as in other towns, the provisional council; they united all the authority in their own hands.

The lieutenant of the marshalsea and the executioner having arrived, he reflected for some time on the means which ought to be adopted to punish the crime, which he was determined should not pass unchastisfed. Martial law was too arbitrary to correspond with the regimen of liberty, and if he had delivered the prisoners over to a military tribunal, he would have been reproached

proached with punishing them in an arbi-

He therefore, after due deliberation, affembled the people under arms in the square, presented the lieutenant of the marshalsea to them, and spoke as follows:

Citizens! the town of Cherbourg has been dishonoured by the commission of a great crime, and we have all pledged ourfelves not to suffer such enormities to escape unpunished. It is you who have been offended, it belongs to you therefore to fit in judgment on the guilty. The forms of the marthal's court will be followed in the procefs, but the lieutenant will only be permitted to point out that mode which is the most proper in the present circumstances, because it is the most expeditious. Select twelve judges and an affeffor, from among the advocates; they will superintend the proceedings. I will afterwards reassemble, and inform you of the refult, and you shall pronounce finally on their doom.

He caused this proposition to be committed to writing, and demanded the public opinion opinion also in writing by means of a yes and a no.

This form was adopted. At the expiration of eight days, he again convoked the people, who pronounced their verdict in manner proposed. The two ringleaders of the mutiny were hanged; they belonged to the neighbouring county, and had been robbers on the highway. Ten were whipped, branded, and sent to the gallies at Brest. All the rest were banished, and after a minute search in the quarries, two hundred and sifty more of a suspicious description were included in the sentence. Four women were also whipped, branded, and conveyed to the house of correction at Caen.

If the other commanding officers had displayed the same firmness, and judgment, in all the towns throughout the kingdom, the people would have remained every where masters of the populace, and the revolution, instead of the hideous form it has assumed, would have been a simple regeneration of the monarchy. In truth, the jacobins at this period were merely a patriotic body, perhaps a little too siery in their zeal, but they

they consisted of the most upright men of France, and the constituent assembly, and were not yet debauched by the introduction of russians, who have converted that club into a monstrous association, that has become the enemy of all social order.

On the 12th of August a tragical event occurred at Caen, where the people difplayed one of the first examples of its barbarity in its vengeance. The junior major of the regiment of Bourbon infantry was called Belzunce: his rank excluded him from all command, but he had usurped the rights of a meek spirited lieutenant-colonel. This young man was witty, and possessed an interesting figure, but his character was haughty, violent, and enterprifing. He affected everywhere to exhibit the most decided aversion to the constituent assembly, a marked attachment to despotism, and the utmost scorn for the people. He caressed the foldiers of his own regiment, especially the grenadiers, and never appeared in the freets but on horseback, accompanied by a fervant with a ferocious aspect, and both of them completely armed from head to foot:

the nobility of Caen completely ruined himby flattering his dangerous passions.

Dumouriez, who had feen him often at the intendant's house, frequently reprimanded and bestowed much useless advice upon him. He had even thought proper at his departure to observe to the duke of Harcourt, that the culpable temerity of this young man might prove extremely pernicious, and he had advised him to find out some pretext for fending him away. The duke, however, did not think proper to comply; although, on receiving intelligence from Caen, Dumouriez had reiterated his opinion in writing, and pressed him to dispatch him with letters to the minister, who would eafily find a pretext for detaining him at Paris or people ri-nos kay odw, sourt

Belzunce became daily more insupportable to the people. He had quitted his lodgings in the town, on purpose to reside in the barracks along with the grenadiers; he was suspected of a design to attempt some sudden enterprize. The fact however is, that on the 11th of August, at ten o'clock at night, the barrack in which he lived, was perceived Vol. II.

to have lights in all the apartments, and the foldiers were dreffed and under arms. Whether it was that he had anticipated the ill intentions of the people, or that he himself was actually bused in the hostile projects which had been long attributed to him, is hard to determine.

The inhabitants flew to arms, and furrounded the place. An officer having fallied forth, an attempt was made to flop him. He discharged a pistol at a sentinel of the national guard, miffed him, and was killed. Several shot were fired from the barracks. and the alarm-bell was rung. The whole town affembled in arms, and cannon were brought up. The regiment at length capitulated, and delivered up the unfortunate Belzunce, who was torn in pieces, and his remains were afterwards carried in triumph through the city. It is pretended that a woman, or rather a fury, devoured his heart. The people then repaired to the duke de Harcourt, who was exposed to some personal danger, and obliged him to fend away the regiment.

Dumouriez on the 13th learned this hor-

rible catastrophe, and immediately expected a commotion, because it had been remarked that the little towns constantly followed the example of the great ones. Accordingly on the 14th the people of Cherbourg assembled in clusters, and the agitators persuaded them, that they ought to distrust the troops after what had just happened at Caen, and that neither the forts nor magazines should be entrusted to their care.

There were at this time five hundred thousand musket cartridges in barrels, in fort Galet, which was only guarded by a corporal and four privates. It was however fituated beyond the town, and very near the barracks of the marine corps, where the duke de Beuvron, always imprudent from timidity, had been so unwise as to post two companies of grenadiers, and two pieces of artillery, which exhibited an air of distrust to the people, who in their turn began to be suspicious of these hostile preparations.

It happened to be a holiday. A hundred of the citizens without arms, went and fur-rounded fort Galet, while the captains and officers of the national guard fignified to

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their general, that as the late occurrence at Caen had engendered suspicions against the troops, the people themselves were resolved to guard the forts and the magazines.

"Your jealoufy is ill founded," replied he in a very cool manner, "I am ready to answer for the foldiers; they will not do any thing without my orders, and you may rely upon me: however your demand is just; but as it is necessary that our magazines be not plundered, possession should be taken in all the customary forms, and an exact inventory drawn up." They instantly consented to this arrangement.

He then defired the superiour officers of the national guard to go themselves, and relieve the posts occupied by the troops of the line; and he sent Mr. Deshayes, a commissioner of the marine, and a man of a sage and prudent turn, to inspect the inventory; he himself signed all the necessary orders, as also a general one to the commanding officers of the troops of the line, in the forts, enjoining them to allow themselves to be relieved by the national militia. The whole operation

tion was executed with the utmost tranquillity, and the people were fatisfied.

He then went to the abbey, and informed the duke de Beuvron of what he had done. with a defign to prevent a greater evil; and after walking to fort Galet, returned home, and drew up a plan of the disposition for guarding the forts and magazines, which employed 150 citizens per day.

At the end of about three days, the militia, who had their own trades and domestic affairs to superintend, finding that the duty occupied too much of their time, came and befought the general, as a favour, that he would discharge them from the burden of such a fervice, and restore the guard of the fort and magazines to the troops. This was exactly what he had expected; he accordingly confented to their demand, and put every thing on in its former footing, withour once reproaching them with their misplaced disthe profess of Junemier, that the thurt

Throughout the whole kingdom the infurrections followed exactly the same course. At this very epoch the inhabitants of Valence in Dauphiné, a grand establishment for Consider the

the casting of artillery, actuated by the selffame principle of suspicion, made a similar proposition to Mr. de Voisins, a marechal de camp. He was imprudent enough to resuse compliance, and even to point the artillery of the citadel against the people. The cannoneers however resused to fire, and Mr. de Voisins with two other officers was killed: had he acted like Dumouriez, the moment that this commotion had been appeased, he might have resumed the possession of the magazines. It was this false zeal of the royalists that rendered them odious in every place, proved fatal to the king, and ended by ruining every thing.

From this moment Cherbourg enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity, with the exception of a few intrigues which might have produced very serious consequences. It was owing to the acceptance of the place of commandant-general of the national guard, and the prudence of Dumouriez, that the public money, the magazines of all kinds, the duke de Beuvron, and he himself, were saved. But as every other, this popular authority alone excepted, was soon after annihilated, his conduct

conduct was depicted to the duke de Beuvron as an instance of the foresight of an ambitious man, who was eager to supplant him:
and the persons, who ought to have interfered, to re-establish an union between them,
set in motion all the serpents of calumny.

The credit and prudence of Dumouriez prevented this schism from degenerating into a civil war on the part of the nobility of Cotentin on one side, and the people of Cherbourg on the other.

After having organised the national guard, he resigned his command, which would have obliged him to a constant residence, and might have been the means of bringing the disputes between the two factions to an issue. Having therefore obtained leave of absence from the minister of war, he left Cherbourg in the month of November *.

* 1789.—Tranf.

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On his arrival at Paris, he revisited all his friends. The elder Crillon presented him to the jacobins. He went however to their club but seldom, as he found them too violent, and too noisy; he besides perceived that he should lose his time. He never repaired but once to the assembly, in which he discovered but too little dignity; it was then, however, that it was best composed.

He once more met at Paris an aged literary man of the name of Laplace, who had formerly frequented the same societies with himself; he died in 1793, being then 87 years old, with the title of father of the men of letters. The samous Barrere, who was then mild, and amiable, and who was much esteemed in the constituent assembly, lodged above him in the same house; he formed an acquaintance

acquaintance with him, Emeri of Metz, and Montcalm; and these, with Crillon and two or three others, dined with him every Tuesday. They gravely discussed all the questions which were to be agitated in the assembly, and they sketched out the plan of some decrees.

It was then that he drew up a refutation of one of Mirabeau's orations, relative to the freedom of the negroes, and he predicted that the colonies would be lost if they argued this question with all that vehemence with which every thing was discussed in the assembly.

He fully agreed with him as to the principle of right, but he demonstrated the impossibility of applying it immediately to our East and West India islands. He said:

"Alleviate the lot of the negroes, encourage their population, give them the fee fimple of lands, and at the end of half a century, when you have a sufficient number of native blacks, to preclude the necessity of importing Africans, you may prohibit such an intercourse, as contrary to the rights of man; or if you permit this commerce

merce to be continued, the moment that the negroes set soot in your colonies, let them be put in possession of some property, and you may enact that the colonists who purchase them, shall be obliged at the end of a certain fixed term, such as two or three years, to give them their freedom; you can order partial enfranchisements among the old slaves, and the mixture of blood will do the rest. As to the mulattoes, there is neither justice, nor policy, nor good sense, in denying them the rights of citizens."

He treated exactly in the same manner the question relative to the property of the clergy. He laid it down as a basis, that this in fact was national property, and on this point he cited the opinion of the senate of Venice in 1534. Here follows what was advanced, supported, and approved by that wise body, which was far superiour in point of knowledge to the age in which it lived, "The large portion of goods bestowed on the church cannot be exempted from the burdens of the state, without increasing the pressure of contributions on the part of the remainder

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remainder of the citizens: the military fervice being established for the safety of all, no person can be dispensed from contributing to it. The intention of those, who bequeathed property to the church, could never have been to have impoverished the state by diminishing its revenues; and if it were possible for man to have conceived so unjust an idea, it belongs to the state to apply a remedy, in resuming, in respect to this property, those rights which are inalienable by their very nature."

In addition to this authority, respectable on the part of a senate renowned for its orthodoxy, the example of Russia and of England*, where the priests receive salaries, is sufficient to overturn all the arguments of the clergy, who wish to make a spiritual affair of what involves temporal interests alone: but he at the same time thought, that although the nation had a right to declare itself the proprietor of such property as existed without heirship, it was both un-

just

^{*} The author is here misinformed as to the established church of England; the priests of all other denominations are however nearly in this predicament.—Trans.

just and impolitic to despoil those who enjoyed the usufruct. He accordingly proposed:

1°. That by a constitutional law, the affembly should declare all the property of

the clergy national property.

2°. That they should by a second decree declare, that the possession of more than one benefice should be considered as fimony, in conformity to the canons of the church, and that in consequence of this, those who held more than one should be allowed to make their option, and resign all the rest.

3°. That by a third decree, they should follow the example of the last two or three kings of France, in respect to the suppression of such convents as did not possess a sufficient number of inmates, and of all useless religious orders. In the course of this very century, the Jesuits, the Celestines, the Camaldule friars, and the order of St. Ruth, had been abolished; and when once the monks were all suppressed, the evil would not have been very great.

4°. That by another decree they should prohibit females from taking the vows be-

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fore thirty, and males before forty years of age. An edict of Louis XV. had already fixed this period at twenty-five years of age.

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5°. That the caisse des économats of the clergy should become national, for the receipts, disbursements, and management of all the benefices of the clergy vacated by death, or in confequence of the four preceding decrees; that an account should be delivered in yearly of the state of this property; that out of it the provincial curacies should be endowed, and the seminaries supported, and that the number of participants should be fixed, in proportion to the number of priests who might be deemed necessary in each province; and when this operation had been concluded, and the fervice of public worship fixed on a solid foundation, a priest who said mass should not receive less than twelve hundred, or an archbishop more than thirty thousand livres, and a portion of the furplus should be put up to auction every year. But as the nation would in the mean time be in want of money, he proposed that a loan should take place of four hundred millions, which which might be borrowed on the caisse des deconomats, and would be filled with rapidity; this would have rendered the very perilous measure of the creation of assignats unnecessary. The clergy in general would not have been plundered, the monasteries would in all probability have become extinct, and was very improperly termed the petty clergy, would have been contented and attached to the constitution which thus conferred on them a decent livelihood.

This scheme appeared too moderate and too slow: it had one great fault in the eyes of such legislators, for it did not destroy any thing, and it was their system to destroy every thing.

The property of the clergy was decreed to be national property; and it was put up to auction by the lump. But when they came to calculate the falaries and pensions of the priests, as they were only to receive one twelfth annually of the amount fold, and as no reservation had been made out of which they could raise a sum sufficient to pay this annual debt of more than a hundred and thirty millions, the permanent convention

convention adopted means worthy of itself; this was to attack religion on purpose to dispense with the payment of its ministers. They destroyed the ark, that they might get rid of the Levites!

In the winter of 1789-90, Mr. de Laporte, maître des requêtes, the oldest and best of Dumouriez striends, became steward of the king's household. They had been educated together at the college of Louis le grand, and although often separated on account of their different professions, they had not forgotten each other. Laporte, who had been first intendant of the marine at Brest, and afterwards a minister, possessed great knowledge, the most unbounded probity, and attachment to the person of Louis XVI. which was carried to adoration.

These two friends now met oftener than before, and were continually occupied about the safety of this unfortunate prince. Dumouriez, who united the desire of beholding the monarchy settled by means of a free and solid constitution with the love of his king, whom he esteemed, presented Laporte in January 1790 with a note for that monarch,

narch, in which he represented to him the necessity of adopting the constitution without hesitation, and advised him to repair to the assembly without any previous notice, and there take a voluntary oath to maintain it.

The king did so, and this event was accompanied by the greatest success. If he had continued to act firmly and frankly, he would have outwitted both the jacobins and the republicans, and have been at this moment seated on the throne; but the bad advice, instilled into his ear by the perfidious counsellors who surrounded him; his slight after having of his own accord reiterated the oath; and, in short, his continual tergiversations, contributed to convert this circumstance to his own disadvantage, and produced faults, that did not however deferve that death, which no Frenchman had a right to pronounce upon him.

Dumouriez then thought, and still continues of opinion, that the situation of a constitutional king governing a free people, incapable of doing wrong, enabled only to recompense, and nominating to all the offices in a

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great kingdom, was the most solid and majestic of all possible situations. Providence did not permit this prince to be penetrated with similar sentiments, or allow the French to be just and humane towards a king, who was a good but misguided man.

He alfo by means of his friend Laporte communicated a very useful piece of advice to the king and queen, which was however rejected. The queen, fince the refided at the Thuilleries, had begun to gain a little on the affections of the people; they had admired her courage during the frightful tumults of the 5th and 6th of October 1780; they pitied her: he wished to augment the regard they now feemed to entertain, by procuring for her an opportunity of being beloved without being degraded. Maternal love is the most powerful of all engines, even among the most savage nations, and the French were then still in posfession of the milder virtues month paible in

In the street Montmartre, where Dumouriez ledged, there was a little battalion of boys, all sons of merchants, or of reputable citizens; they were well educated, well clothed, Vol. II. G and

and in short were charming children. They often went to exercise in the Champs-elises. on the other fide of the Thuilleries. He fuggefted that the queen should carry the dauphin thither at the beginning of fpring, as if led by mere curiofity; that she should carefs the children, and through the medium of her own fon, give them little prefents, and a treat now and then; in fine, without any appearance of defign, she might permit the dauphin to form an acquaintance with some of them; she also might flatter the mothers by complimenting the children, and in a little time could express a defire that her fon should enter into this handsome battalion, which would have overwhelmed the good Parifians of that day with joy, for they would have rejoiced to have feen the heir apparent dreffed in the national uniform with a little musket in his hand, at first a simple foldier, and afterwards ascending through all the intermediate degrees until he arrived at the command.

He drew up a very interesting but short memorial founded on this proposition, in which he quoted the example of Sesostris,

who

who being educated with all the children born on the fame day with himself, afterwards made them the companions of his victories; of Cyrus the Great, who with the youth of Media, that had been brought up along with himself, had conquered Asia; of Peter the Great, who served as a simple soldier in the German company of his favourite Lefort, and who was only a lieutenant-colonel when he vanquished Charles XII. at Pultowa; in short, of the princes of the house of Brandenburg, and the other German princes, all of whom receive a similar education.

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The queen rejected this proposition with distain, and she told Laporte, that she should always hold the uniform of the assassing of the king's body guards in detestation. If she had possessed a sufficient degree of prudence to have vanquished this unjustifiable repugnance (for the national guards, on the contrary, had actually saved the gardes-du-corps); the courtiers, who are every where a monkey race, would have followed the example, every body would have adopted the national uniform, and a connection and G 2 a cordiality

a cordiality would have been the refult, which would have arrested the progress of distrust, hatred, and criminality. Alas! she in a short time afterwards beheld her husband and her son dressed in this very uniform, without its answering any useful purpose, being obliged to do so by force, and

confequently with difgrace.

Three months subsequent to his admisfion among the jacobins, the elder Crillon told Dumouriez, that he and his brother, the bishop of Autun, the dukes de Rochefoucault and Liancourt, Emery, and many others, all of them respectable members of the affembly. intended to separate themselves from the jacobins, and found another fociety. He instantly perceived all the inconvenience that was likely to arise from this schism; he therefore represented to him, that if the conduct of the jacobins appeared now to be too violent, it would become still more so when their presence no longer counterbalanced the influence of the hot headed members : that. however moderate the spirit of their new club might be, it would foon degenerate fo, as to produce two factions, which would thwast

thwart each other in the assembly, and afford advantage to the counter revolutionary party; that the jacobins, thus weakened by so numerous a desertion, would beat up for recruits among all the newswriters and pamphleteers of Paris, and become dangerous, as there would no longer be any check upon their actions, and having a new party to combat, they would be zealous to bring all their strength into the field on purpose to oppose it.

These objections proved fruitless. Crillon junior, who was very rich, and had a superb hotel, founded a club that met there. The jacobins had sagacity enough to send a deputation requesting them to rejoin the mother society; but their application was treated with scorn.

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This club increasing in point of numbers, engendered that of 1789, out of the ashes of which sprung the Feuillans. The jacobins, thus irritated, no longer kept any terms with them, and in the end disturbed and finally destroyed all these clubs. Dumouriez ceased to frequent the jacobins, but he would not join any of the new societies.

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These trisling sollies produced great effects, and precipitated all the movements of a criminal revolution, the beginning of which announced itself in puerile disputes.

Dumouriez at this time resided in Paris, without enjoying any public station whatever, for the military commands were in a manner suppressed, and he did not receive any of his appointments. He was obliged, on purpose to pay the annuity he allowed to his wife, and his fourth*, as well as his private expences, to sell his plate, which however would not have proved nearly sufficient had it not been for the generosity of a semale friend with whom he lived, and to whom he had been under the greatest obligations during seven years, as she has sacrificed herself entirely on his account.

He then frequently met Lafayette, to whom he was greatly attached, and whom he still loves, although that general afterwards became, and that too very undefervedly, his most bitter enemy. He has always done him justice. Lafayette possesses

knowledge,

^{*} This was the patriotic gift of one fourth of the income of all citizens.—Trans.

knowledge, virtue, a great coolness, and an abundance of courage. He is generous, mild, and affable. His greatest fault is, that he affects to be subtle, and that he is deficient in experience, which prevents him from judging of the characters of mankind. With the best possible intentions, he has committed great errours in the course of the revolution. The open war which he waged with the jacobins, was very imprudent in his situation.

It is to be observed however, that Dumouriez, who reproaches him with this fault, afterwards subjected himself to the same inconvenience; but their conduct differed in this, that Lasayette's was voluntary, and Dumouriez forced; it was not so much the jacobins that Lasayette hated, as Mirabeau and Lameth, who were then in vogue; the two latter since that time conducted themselves very ill. His hatred therefore originated in a spirit of faction. That of Dumouriez was inspired by indignation.

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He often advised Lafayette to become friends with the jacobins, at least in appearance; they were not then what they have

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fince become. Depending on the extent of his credit, he rejected this counsel; and yet, when Lameth no longer influenced this some elety, he was weak enough to present himself there to be interrogated like a criminal by Danton, and to subject himself to numberless affronts.

The colonies about this time began to give uneafiness to the legislature. Briffor, who was as yet nothing more than a dangerous newswriter, and who, that he might become important, carried all the schemes of the innovators to excess, had been one of the founders of the society of the friends of the negroes. From this fociety issued Oger the mulatto, who failed to the West Indies with the defign of inflaming the minds of his brethren who were oppressed by the white inhabitants of St. Domingo. His death ferved only to increase the flame. Not only the friends of the negroes had incited the other mulattoes to vengeance, but they had also worked upon the lower orders of the whites, and the negroes.

At Martinico they had employed a mode of discord exactly the reverse of this. They there there rekindled a division which had indeed always subsisted among the whites themfelves. The colonists or planters were often at the mercy of the merchants; they paid their debts but badly, and perhaps hoped to find a pretext in a revolution, for not paying them at all. The others exacted whatever was owing to them with too much harshness, and thus a civil war was. eafily brought about between Fort Royal, the refidence of the planters, and St. Pierre, where the merchants lived. The colonists readily procured the aid of the mulattoes, who were planters, and debtors, like themfelves; but the better to infure this, they allowed them to participate in all the rights of citizenthip tralat table tan tent bell flog

Thus at St. Domingo, hostilities took place between the whites on one side, and the mulattoes and negroes on the other; while at Martinico, the whites waged war with one another, the planters and mulattoes opposing the merchants, against whom the government also declared; the political system, and the motives of division, were absolutely opposite to each other in these

these two colonies. The people of colour were Aristocrats at Martinico, and Democrats at St. Domingo.

Dumouriez was obliged to study the subiect, and investigate this chaos, because his friends in the affembly proposed to confer upon him the command of fix thousand men, whom they were about to fend to the colonies, on purpose, as they said, to restore tranquillity; but that was what neither of the two parties wished for. He had then an opportunity of conversing with the members of the committee of the colonies, of whom Barnave was the chief. This young man, who has fince perished on a scaffold, a victim to those very jacobins who adored him in 1790, possessed great oratorical talents, little knowledge, and abundance of prefumption. He was the spoiled shild of the constituent assembly, because the enemies of Mirabeau endeavoured to bring him forward, with a view to oppose that leader.

Barnave had no fixed plan whatever.

Dumouriez delivered in writing a certain number of questions, without the preliminary decision of which he was determined

not to take upon himself so delicate a mission. He also required instructions, drawn up by the members of the colonial committee, in which they were to infert the principles of the decree which was to fix the fate of the colonies. He considered it necessary, that they should re-establish an uniformity in the lot of the mulattoes, or people of colour, at St. Domingo and Martinico. By declaring them citizens, he affured them, that the flame of civil war would be entirely extinguished at St. Domingo, because the union of the whites and mulattoes would enfure the reduction of the few negroes who were prepared for revolt, more especially when fupported by the government; and that by these means they would be able to baffle the dangerous and mad deligns of the friends of the negroes, who feemed to point at little less than the massacre of all the whites.

As foon as the rights of citizens had been accorded to the mulattoes, and the fate of the most important of all the colonies determined, it would be easy, he thought, to put an end to the civil war in Martinico, as it was carried on only between the whites; that

this depended much on the prudence and firmness of the governour, who ought to employ the forces of the nation, not to fupport one party against another, but to oblige them both to cease hostilities, and convert a state of warfare into a criminal profecution before judges appointed by the king and the affembly.

Barnave and the rest objected, that it did not belong to them, but the minister, to draw up inftructions for a general. So much the worse for them both if they should be deceived, for they were reofponfible!

Will you, or will you not, fave the colonies, and confer a lasting benefit on your country?" faid Dumouriez. " The instructions now demanded of you, do not respect the civil or military conduct of the general; they relate folely to the principles on which you ought to found your decree, To that his actions may not be in direct contradiction with your constitutional law, whenever it shall make its appearance."

This very reasonable proposition having been negatived, he then befought his friends eliela di

to cease their solicitations on his behalf, as he no longer wished to accept of the appointment. It was conferred on Behague, a man of merit, and a good officer, who acquired the appellation of Aristocrate, after he had exerted himself to the utmost.

In this affair, as well as in all others which he was enabled to probe to the bottom, Dumouriez perceived with grief, that the court and the constituent assembly were two enemies, who were employed in laying fnares for each other: that both of them had the good of their country in their mouths. but that neither was occupied about the attainment of it that the French, who began to glory in the name of citizens, had not become fuch; that the court had not adapted itself to circumstances, and that still preferving its character for the want of forelight, notwithstanding the terrible leffons of adversity, it flattered itself to regain its loft authority, by allowing the legislators to run headlong into the commission of abfurdities, trufting to the hope, that the nation would foon be difgusted with the calamities produced by anarchy. On the other

other hand, these very same legislators, with great, perhaps with too great talents, also considered anarchy and disorder as the means of rendering the court utterly contemptible, and of gaining the exclusive considence of the nation. He consequently anticipated great evils, and a circumstance that then occurred induced him either to look for a remedy in external events, or at least to a situation that might prevent him from being a witness of the approaching calamities.

The infurrection of the Belgic provinces had preceded that of France; it appeared to have, or at least to be susceptible of a greater union, and consequently of a more quick, and complete success. The imperial troops, obliged to give way before a general attack, which was accompanied by the desertion of the Walloon regiments, had been forced to retire into Luxemburg, the only one of the ten provinces which still remained under the dominion of the house of Austria. This revolution neither announced disorder, nor proscription, nor destruction. The three orders of the nation were united

united in the same principles of liberty; all the people were armed, money was circulated in great plenty, and a Prussian general, who possessed some reputation, commanded an army in Luxemburg, not of national guards, but of regemented and regular troops. It was in this point of view that the Belgic revolution appeared to those who beheld it at a distance.

We were not then at war with the court of Vienna; the alliance still subsisted in appearance, but the Austrian cabinet had difplayed the most decided aversion to the late innovations. It openly supported the cause of the emigrant princes; it excited the king of Prussia, and the other powers of Europe, against the national affembly and its labours; faithful to its treaty with the king of France, it separated the interests of the prince from those of the people; it affected to look upon him as a prisoner; to consider all the steps taken by the French to form a monarchical constitution, as so many attacks upon royalty; and it embraced every occasion to treat, and that too without any circumlocution, the whole French nation

as if it had been in a flate of frebel-

It had already begun, at Reichenbach, to concert means for opposing the revolution; and it afterwards formed a strong coalition at Pilnitz, on purpose to annihilate it.

In addition to all this, it was deeply interested in the issue. It was certain, that the success of the French revolution must necessarily include that of the Low Countries, because as the two nations were neighbours, and both of them in a state of insurrection, they would be naturally induced to support each other.

The court of Vienna, however, had adopted a bad system of politics; it would have discovered far more wisdom to have come to an explanation with the Belgians, and to have restored all the franchises of an antient constitution, to which they were strongly attached, and which indeed strengthened the sovereignty of the house of Austria over those charming provinces. The emperor Francis II, who has adopted this just and paternal mode of conduct, will reap the benefit

benefit of it; and this good and loving people will out of gratitude enfure to him the unshaken possession of the most brilliant inheritance of his ancestors *.

It would have been also prudent to have defifted from intermeddling in the internal affairs of France, and, instead of encouraging the folly of the princes, by holding out hope of fuccour, which could only produce a war, to have advised them to have returned, and rejoined the king. Their obstinacy could only augment his danger, by exasperating a violent nation, which it would have been better to have foftened; it became treason on their part, fince they refifted the orders and prayers of their king; fince they appeared publicly in arms; fince they caufed affignats to be forged, a circumstance that affected the commerce and the property of all Europe; fince they forced the nobility to abandon their employments, and their homes, in order to increase their troops,

with which they long ht to have

^{*} It is obvious that this passage was written previous to the conclusion of the late campaign, which left Austrian Flanders under the dominion of the French.—

and their embarrassments; since by constantly repeating that the king was no longer free, they infinuated an idea into the nation of bereaving him of his liberty; since by a continual succession of petty conspiracies in Paris, which were always badly conducted, and proved constantly unsuccessful, they augmented the suspicions of the people against their unfortunate monarch; since they advised him to have recourse to protestation and slight, and insensibly led him on toward his ruin.

The court of Vienna, instead of losing, must have gained, by the settlement of the French constitution on a solid foundation. Its alliance with France would then have been protected from the sluctuation of a versatile court, the conduct of which varied with every change of ministers, factions, mistresses, or favourites.

But none at that period contemplated the affairs of France with that coolness, and foresight, with which they ought to have been examined. Frenchmen, foreigners, courts, ministers, princes, the constituent assembly, and the people, were all blinded

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by passions and prejudices; all of them have committed faults; all have conspired against unhappy France; all of them have torn her to pieces; all have assisted in plunging her into anarchy; this very anarchy at present menaces the whole of Europe, and its fury can only be extinguished in streams of blood.

The court of Vienna took a too active, and to avoid circumlocution, a too hostile part in the revolution, to preclude France from being justified in meditating reprisals, by intermeddling in the Belgic disturbances. The Jacobin club had not as yet acquired that fatal activity which it has since displayed; it had not as yet dreamed of becoming a propaganda, and at this epoch it possesses are possessed in the possesses of the pos

Montmorin, who conducted foreign affairs with a feeble hand, was much attached to the king; but his undifcerning, and indifcriminate affection proved fatal both to the monarch and the minister. He was eager to restore the royal authority, in all the plenitude of its former arbitrary power,

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and thus to cheat the constitutional party. He confidered the duke of Orleans as an obstacle to this design, and wishing at present for his absence from France, he had found means to inspire him with the defire of becoming duke of Brabant. Emissaries had accordingly been dispatched into Belgia, and the base Philip himself had been sent to the court of London, with instructions in express opposition to that attachment which Montmorin professed towards the house of Austria. This petty instance of Machiavelism, this double game, had proved unfuccessful, and the whole intrigue was already forgotten, when Lafayette and Dumouriez, for the first time, entered into a ferious discussion relative to the Belgic provinces.

The latter offered to go and examine the state of this revolution on the spot: not to impose upon the people a despicable sovereign, for there was no longer any question of this, and Lafayette hated the duke too much to uphold his interests; but to ascertain the degree of considence which might be placed in such an insurrection,

and in its chiefs, who now openly folicited

The congress which assumed the sovereign power had sent two deputies to Paris. Dumouriez conversed with them by means of Lasayette. It was agreed that he should set out for Brussels; he did not choose however to take this step without informing Montmorin, who at first expressed much aversion, but finally acceded to it; at the same time however exacting a promise, that in whatever situation he might find the affairs of Belgia, he would return to Paris, and give an account of them, previously to entering into any personal treaty with the congress.

This indeed was his own express intention. He was determined not to engage with the Belgians, without first knowing whether he should be supported by the French nation, as he had no inclination either to deceive that people on the one hand, or to expose himself to any censure on the other. He recollected what had occurred in Poland. But it was his wish, if the thing were possible, either to produce a grand diversion

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in favour of France, by means of this country, or to oblige the court of Vienna to defift from intermeddling with the French revolution; and if it did not confent to this, to expele it, in its turn, to great embarrallments, in case it should persevere in its counter-revolutionary activity.

He fet off in the month of lune, with the two deputies from the Belgic congress, to whom he was prefented as a person secretly acknowledged by his court, and who was to be confulted by them on the subjects of war and politics. It needed no great penetration to discover how much this congress was unworthy of the confidence of the people. Van-der-Noot appeared to him to be just such another leader as Masfaniello *, and Van-Eupen, a hypocrite and an impostor. These two men, who were the instruments, and the creatures, of the courts of Berlin, and the Hague, deceived the Belgians in the groffest manner, for they had driven from office all the higher or-

^{*} A fisherman of Naples, who brought about a revolution in that city.—Trans.

ders of the nobility, and all the able men of the great cities. The most shameful spoliation ruined their pecuniary resources; a blind fanaticism precluded the idea of a wise policy; and an insolent mob supported a cruel despotism.

Dumouriez repaired to the army; it was commanded by a Prussian general, an impostor also, who did not even conceal that the fate of Belgia depended on the congress of Reichenbach: the troops were full of courage, but they were actually in want of arms, clothing, provision, ammunition, money, officers, and discipline.

He immediately judged that France could derive no advantage from such a chaos; he lamented the errours of so worthy a people; he perceived that the Belgic revolution was drawing towards a close, and that the inhabitants would be infinitely more happy by being restored to the dominion of their legitimate sovereigns, than if they were any longer permitted to make an ill use of a false and hollow liberty. Nevertheless, that he might fulfil his mission, he presented two memorials to the H 4 congress,

congress, the one political, in which he endeavoured to demonstrate to them how. much they were deceived by all the neighbouring powers, many of whom, after having brought them to the very edge of the precipice, were about to take part against them; the other military, in which they received hints respecting the species of warfare they ought to adopt against such a formidable power as that of Austria.

After this he returned home, having spent only feventeen days in the whole journey. He committed all his observations to writing, and concluded by way of refult, that the scheme of supporting the Belgic provinces ought to be abandoned. This idea gave great pleasure to Montmorin, and was received very coldly by Lafayette, who was but too much occupied with the intrigues which were continually carrying on either for or against him.

In the course of that very winter the Belgic revolution was terminated, and the Low Countries were reconquered with the utmost facility by the Austrians. General Schoenfeldt did not oppose the least obstacle to

their

their progress, and returned soon after to receive from the king of Prussia the recompence he had merited by his conduct.

Montmorin and the whole court were quite enchanted at beholding the fate of the infurrection in the Low Countries; they confidered those provinces as the bridge over which the counter-revolution was to penetrate into France, and this hope, by deceiving, induced them to commit fresh blunders, which finally produced the misfortunes of their country.

It was at the epoch of his journey into Brabant, that Dumouriez, after an interval of two years, readmitted into his service the faithful Baptiste, whom he then regarded rather as a child than a domestic, and who since, by means of a brilliant action, has elevated himself to the rank of his fellow soldier, and his friend.

On his return to Paris, being destitute both of fortune and employment, he speculated on the progress of the revolution, and found cause to be discontented with it. He frequently saw his friend Laporte, who languished for the old government; but the difference

difference of their fentiments never cooled the fervency of their attachment. He gave his opinion of every step which he imagined might be productive of any danger to the king, whether proceeding from his own. conduct or that of those who surrounded him, and Laporte faithfully transmitted to his mafter all the notes and observations of his friend.

Latour-du-Pin Paulin, the minister at war, had conceived an aversion to Dumouriez. He gave full credit to all the calumnies which the partifans of the family of Harcourt had propagated relative to his conduct in Normandy. They accused him of having openly encouraged the infurrections in that province, and they had carefully concealed from the king that firmness and justice which he had displayed during the tumult at Cherbourg.

It was not until the following year that Louis XVI was undeceived by Laporte; and that prince has fince confessed to Dumouriez, that he had long entertained the most rooted prejudices against him. He has no manner of doubt but that it was

without

without the privity of the duke d'Harcourt, that these calumnies were circulated, as they originated perhaps in the false zeal of his flatterers. He loves and respects that nobleman, and he sighs at the idea of his being unfortunate.

Latour-du-Pin was at length dismissed, and Duportail, who had served in America with Lafayette, was at his instance nominated secretary at war, and soon proved, by permitting himself to be intirely governed by the Lameths, how much Lafayette was deceived in his choice.

On his return from Brabant, Dumouriez had found Lafayette busied about the formation of a national guard throughout the whole kingdom, and a decree was then under consideration for this purpose. He himself had in 1789 drawn up regulations for the militia of the town of Cherbourg; Lafayette had done the same for those of the city of Paris: but these partial attempts were now to give place to a more extensive scheme. The best mode for a general organization was to be devised; and he was requested by Lafayette to consider the subject.

mine his scheme; three belonging to the constitutional, and three to the military committee. These were Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, the abbé Sieyes, Raband de St. Estienne, who was chairman, Mathiew de Montmorency, Emery of Metz, and another. They met to consider the sketch which he had drawn up, and which was much applanded, but not adopted; it was found to be too military, or, in other words, too methodical.

He proposed to declare every citizen from the age of eighteen to that of fixty, a foldier of his country. The first class was composed of a battalion per district, which would have produced a total of 547 battalions. Each battalion was to confift of half a company of artillery, or 53 men with two field pieces, a company of grenadiers of one hundred men, one of chasseurs, and four of fufileers, each of the same number, which would have produced 27,000 cannoneers, 1094 field pieces, 54,000 grenadiers, 54,000 chasseurs, 220,000 rank and file of the linetotal 350,000 infantry, without including those .fbgi

those furnished by the cities of Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Rouen, Nantes, &c. As the population of these exceeded that of a district, they were to provide a proportional contingent. There was also to be a squadron of cavalry and one of dragoons, amounting each to 120 men, to be raised by every department, which would have produced a body of 20,000 horse.

One fourth of this first class was to asfemble every year, and no substitutes were to be allowed. It was to be composed of unmarried men from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

The second class, consisting of married men, divided into companies of one hundred each, without any grenadiers, or light infantry, was only to be employed in its own district.

All the married men from forty-five to fixty years of age, as also all those without any fixed employment, were to form the third class, and these could not be sent out of their own canton.

It was proposed, that this military force should not be under the orders of the executive cutive power, except in consequence of a formal decree on the part of the legislative body, the reasons for which should be assigned, and the time of service fixed. All those destitute of employment being thrown into the third class, they could not prove hartful, as they would never be put in requisition.

This plan also embraced a variety of other regulations; by means of the militia the troops of the line were to be recruited, and perhaps disbanded in case the army should become one day dangerous.

Towards the end of this year, the committee of public safety of the constituent assembly discovered a conspiracy formed at Lyons, to deliver up that important city into the hands of the princes, who were then at Turin. A major-general of the name of Lachapelle, who commanded there, was suspected of having either entered into, or at least been privy to the plot; in this predicament, they resolved to cause him to be arrested, and his place filled by another general officer on whom they could depend.

Layfayette proposed Dumouriez, who was approved

approved of. He was accordingly fent for, and defired to hold himself in readiness to depart within the space of twenty-four hours. He repaired that very night, along with Lafayette, and two members of the committee, to the minister at war, who was charged to take the king's orders on this subject, on the very next day.

Early in the ensuing morning he went to the committee, where he was employed in learning the particulars of this conspiracy, which was not fictitious. He dined with Montmorin, who told him that he would give him one cypher for Turin, and another for Switzerland, on purpose to push his discoveries as far as possible, and to discomfit all plots whatever, befeeching him at the fame time to be tender of the princes, and more especially of count d'Artois. frankly promised to do so, for it was not only his intention that they should not be implicated in this affair, but he was enchanted to have so good an opportunity of renewing his correspondence with Vaudreuil, by whose means he would be enabled

upon him to return.

In 1790 this was still possible, for the king appeared to desire it, and that too, perhaps, sincerely. Things had not yet been carried to extremities.

Montmorin faid that he would mention this conversation and his good intentions to his majesty. On leaving the minister, he went to his friend Laporte, and repeated to him what had passed, at the same time reiterating his promise to be as favourable to the king's brothers as possible, consistently with the good of his country.

After this he returned home, and hearing nothing from Duportail, he wrote a note to him, to know whether he had received the king's commands relative to his appointment. The answer brought back was, that he was confined to his chamber by a severe cold, but that the day after the next, being that on which the council sat, he would make the proposition.

The committee of public safety had in the mean time communicated this affair to

the corresponding committee of the municipality of Paris. Briffot was a member of the latter; he was also the editor of the Jacobin paper called le Patriote. He was thus enabled to infert an account of the conspiracy at Lyons, and of the nomination of Dumouriez to the command there, before the king had heard a fingle fyllable on the fubject. This prince, on reading his paper, was very juftly offended at this circumstance, and when Duportail waited on him to make the proposal, he told him, that he might nominate any body he pleafed, Dumouriez excepted, for he would never permit the jacobins to interfere in the appointment of his generals.

It is pretended that the Lameths also intrigued against him, because he had been supported by Lafayette, their enemy, with whom Dumouriez was at this time connected, and that they were defirous to beflow the command on Theodore Lameth. their brother, who was at the head of a regiment of cavalry in the neighbourhood of Lyons. Whatever might be the cause, the

VOL. II. fact fact is, that another was appointed in his stead.

He himself was not in the least affected, except so far as concerned the rumour that had gone abroad by anticipation, and the dry manner in which the king pronounced his exclusion. He spoke on this subject to his friend Laporte, and he in his turn to Louis XVI; and it was on this occasion that this good prince freely owned the prejudice he entertained against this general-officer.

He consoled himself as well as he could for this disappointment. At the commencement of the ensuing year generals were to be nominated to the command of the twenty-two divisions of the army, and there were so few remaining that they would be under the necessity of appointing him. Besides, the king had been so gracious as to tell Laporte, that this circumstance should be of no differvice to his friend, and that he should be employed.

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CHAP. V.

The Year 1791.

DUMOURIEZ continued to live in retirement, contemplating the progress of affairs, and visiting Montmorin and Lafayette from time to time. But the proposition that had been made to him, to undertake those two important * commands, caused him to be courted by the different factions. The viscount de Noailles carried him to dine at the rich Laborde's, where he met the Lameths, d'Aiguillon, Menou, and Duport. He appeared to them to be a pedant, and they seemed to him to be replete with frivolity and presumption, and therefore he never returned.

Mirabeau also wished to be intimate with him. He was embroiled at this time both

^{*} In the West Indies, and at Lyons.—Trans.

with the Lafayette and Lameth factions; fuperior to all the affembly in villainy, and in talents, he endeavoured, from interested motives, to associate with men who either possessed knowledge, or the reputation of it. He had at this time abandoned the duke d'Orleans, whom he despised, and he was connected with the court and Montmorin, by whom he was bribed: it was his aim to become prime minister, and confequently to begin by producing a counter revolution.

Dumouriez, who detested his immoralities, had neglected the frequent opportunities which had presented themselves, to cultivate an acquaintance with him. Notwithstanding this, on the solicitation of St. Foy, one of his old friends, he permitted himself to be carried to his house. In the course of this first conference, Mirabeau developed all his projects, told him that within a few days he would make a total change in the diplomatic body, and produced his list to him. Dumouriez proposed some alterations, to which he confented, at the same time making him an offer

offer of the embaffy to Prussia. He replied, that he would accept of it, provided it was only of three months duration; and observed that there was a residence inferiour to that, in point of dignity, but at the same time far more important—that of Mentz.

He explained to him, that there he could either treat with the princes, influencing the king at the fame time, by means of Mr. Laporte, or discover and disconcert their plots, if they were not to be gained over; that in the mean time general Heymann might be fent into Pruffia, without being invested with any public character; and that in the course of three months, if that time were properly employed, they would have an opportunity of pacifying foreign courts, and of completing the constitution, and of restoring its activity to the executive power. He added, that until then the king of Pruffia would not receive an ambassadour without repugnance, and that a negotiation could be entered into with the court of Berlin, to keep in check that of Vienna, if its conduct should give offence. They agreed in opinion relative to all these articles, and

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Mirabeau

Mirabeau went immediately with the lift to Montmorin, who delivered it to his fecretary Gerard de Renneval.

Dumouriez, recalling to his recollection the king's refusal relative to the command of Lyons, wrote a letter to him, which was found in the fatal * iron-box, and has been fince printed. He befought his majesty to let him know by means of his friend Laporte, whether he was averse from employing him, as in that case, he would not permit his name to be included in the lift about to be presented to him by the minister for foreign affairs, but wait until fome more favourable opportunity should enable him to dispel his majesty's prejudices. The king was pleased with the letter, and told Laporte, that he no longer entertained any objection to him, and that he would willingly nominate him to a place if he should be proposed as a candidate.

At the end of four days he faw Mira-

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^{*} This iron-box was discovered in the wall of one of the apartments of the palace; it contained a number of papers, among which was the king's correspondence with Bouillie, then an emigrant, and an outlaw.—Trans.

beau for the second time, who requested him to draw up a memorial relative to the principles of negotiation becoming the constitutional king of a free people. Dumouriez undertook to do so.

During this conference, in which matters of the utmost consequence were treated of with the most unlimited confidence, the conversation happened to turn on the character of count Hertzberg, the famous Prussian minister. Mirabeau, who detested him, spoke of him as follows: "This old fox is furrounded by a chaplet of obstructions, and attacked at the same time by at least five or fix maladies, all of which are mortal, and yet he is continually broaching new projects, as if he were to live a hundred years; while at the same time, one of the fatal fifters has her sciffars ready to cut the thread that holds the fword of Damocles suspended over his head." In four days after Mirabeau himself was no more! Dumouriez on this occasion observed to St. Foy: "Mirabeau feems to have been mistaken in respect to the head that was menaced by the fword of Damocles."

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The destinies, in cutting off the life of this extraordinary man, had at the same time severed the thread of all his projects. Dumouriez, who heard nothing from Montmorin, immediately waited upon him. An explanation ensued; Montmorin disavowed having entered into any arrangement with Mirabeau, he even denied the list itself. Dumouriez then told the minister, that he would abandon him, and complain of this falsehood, which was an indubitable proof of his weakness; he at the same time predicted, that he would prove the ruin not only of the king, but of himself, by banishing both truth and dignity from his conduct.

He never saw him afterwards, and his prophecy has been but too literally accomplished. He regrets his tragic end. Mr. de Montmorin was greatly attached to the king, and possessed many good qualities, but he was unequal to his situation, more especially at such a critical period.

In the mean time a promotion, as was foreseen, actually took place, and Dumouriez was appointed major-general of the twelfth division. This event obliged him to return

to the jacobins. His long absence had induced them to erafe his name from the lift of the fociety. His motive for again becoming a member, was, that the jacobins of Paris had affiliated more than two thousand provincial focieties to their own; that in the five departments in which he was about to command, there were thirty or forty composed of very combustible materials, and that if he had made his appearance there without being a jacobin, more especially as he had once been a member of the mother fociety, he would have been looked upon as an aristocrat, and consequently placed in a fituation in which he could neither have proved useful to his country nor his king; he had the precaution to announce this event to Louis XVI, and also to mention the motives of his conduct. doisasion and of

As Mirabeau was dead, and as Montmorin had not only neglected all the diplomatic principles which had been agreed upon, but still continued to regulate foreign affairs according to the rules of the old government, Dumouriez, who at the solicitation of Mirabeau had draw up the tract entitled, titled, " a diplomatic memorial," communicated the same to the friends of Montmorin. whom he no longer faw, on purpose to induce him to alter his ministerial conduct. which was incompatible with the constitution, and dangerous to the king. It was then that Montmorin published a declararation in the king's name, which was to be fent to all the ministers of France at foreign courts. This state paper contained fuch an exaggeration of jacobinical principles, that neither Mirabeau nor Dumouriez would have advised the king to hold a language, which, far from regaining confidence, could not but augment distrust by a too rapid passage from one extreme to another. Dumouriez, indignant of this new act of treachery, added a paragraph relative to this declaration, to his own memorial, which he now read at the fociety of the jacobins; it obtained much praise, and was printed.

Soon after this, he learned that the jacobins, who now began to be detestable, had given it as their opinion, that it would be proper to cashier all the officers of the army,

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and to make an election by means of the foldiers. If this idea, which had many partisans even in the constituent assembly, had prevailed, the army would have been absolutely annihilated. He conversed with Lafayette and Duportail on this subject, he also communicated his project to Laporte; and notwithstanding the danger of opposing so popular an argument, he drew up a memorial, caused it to be communicated to the king, who approved of it, submitted it to the censure of Duportail, and then read it to the jacobins.

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This, which was entitled "a military memorial," supported those principles on which the army of a free people ought to be constituted, traced out the duties of generals, officers, and privates, prescribed the nature and the extent of the subordination of a soldier-citizen, and his relation with, and his duties in respect to other citizens; it concluded with a formula of a very reasonable oath.

He did not on this occasion receive so much applause, as when he read the "diplomatic memorial;" on the contrary, instead flead of procuring the affent of all, it was disapproved by a plurality of suffrages; it was however printed, and it produced the sole effect which he was desirous of, that is, it put an end to the reverie about the election of officers.

The military committee of the affembly adopted the principles here laid down, but that their labours might have fomething original, they adjoined to it a ridiculous form of an oath, which created a schism among the officers, made several leave the service, and rendered those that remained very bad servants of the constitution.

by an office imposed upon him by Duportail, who appointed him president of a council of war, that was to determine relative to an appeal on the part of Moreton, whom the count de Brienne, formerly minister, had deprived of the regiment of la Fère, in an arbitrary manner. Moreton richly deserved to be broken, being a very violent and despotic colonel. But the count had refused him a court martial, and after

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the lapse of several years, he now declaimed against such a piece of injustice.

Dumouriez had received orders to proceed to Toul, where this affair was to have been decided, and this would have obliged him to remove to a great distance from Nantz, which was the place of his destination. It luckily occurred, that a sufficient number of members could not be procured; he accordingly took advantage of this circumstance to refuse to go to Toul, and after having waited during a month at Paris, he returned his commission to the minister, and set out for head quarters. Moreton was made a major general on purpose to keep him quiet, and Dumouriez unfortunately found him under his own command, in the course of the enfuing year.

The twelfth division, to which he was attached, consisted only of twelve battalions and six squadrons. It was commanded by old Verteuil, formerly one of the best officers in the French army, but whose faculties were now entirely decayed. The second major-general was d'Harambure, who never joined. It thus happened that he was faddled

faddled with all the burden of this command, which extended over five departments, Mayenne and Loire, or Angers, the lower Loire, or Nantes, la Vendee, the two Sevres, and the lower Charente, from the Vilaine to the Garonne. That country was already a prey to the ravages of fanaticism and persecution.

He left to the good old man Verteuil, who resided at Rochelle, the government of the lower Charente, and he charged himself with that of the sour other departments, rerepairing sometimes, however, to Rochelle, lest Verteuil should be embarrassed during his absence.

He arrived on the 19th of June, 1791, at Nantes, where he at first took up his abode. He there found a department well superintended, an excellent mayor, a superb national militia, but a very numerous, and infernal club, which received him most graciously, and even presented him with a civic crown, even before he had deserved it. He there also found the second battalion of the twenty-fifth regiment, that of Poitou. All the officers were actuated by anti-consti-

tutional principles, except their leader, Drouart de Lezey, a man of talents and a philosopher.

It had been permitted by an express decree, that the soldiers should be allowed to frequent the clubs; and lest this might produce a schiss between the officers and them, and consequently a want of subordination, he had stated in his "military memorial," that the generals ought to prevail upon the officers to go there also. It happened precisely on the 22d of June, that he had carried all the officers along with him to the society, and this proved a very fortunate circumstance.

On that very night, himself and his aides de-camp, Lavasseur, and Philip de Vaux, being about to retire to bed, after having dispatched some temporary business, he received a letter from the president of the department, beseeching him to repair to the mint, where all the public bodies were assembled, and waiting for him, to deliberate on an important affair, which nearly concerned the safety of their common country.

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He instantly ran thither, very much puzzled relative

relative to the occasion of this message; he found four or five thousand persons in the square, all in their shirts, who appeared to be in the utmost consternation; it was now midnight.

He and his aides-de-camp had some difficulty to pierce through this crowd; he however at length entered a large hall, where all the public functionaries were affembled, furrounded by more than 1500 persons, who spoke all together.

Silence being proclaimed, the president faid to him in a melancholy tone of voice:—
"General, the king of France is gone; he has fled."

"If he be gone, the nation still remains. Let us deliberate on what is proper to be done."

Netwithstanding the calm air Dumouriez assumed on purpose to make this answer, which raised the courage of all, no intelligence could have produced a greater consternation in his mind. It was not more than six days since he had left Paris, he had seen his friend Laporte daily, and he had discovered nothing to him relative to such a design.

defign. He foresaw that all the horrours of a civil war were become inevitable. He was obliged however to conceal his fears, and the coolness, which he had now displayed, procured him general confidence.

He first proposed to publish a proclamation, for the purpose of calming the minds of the people, and preventing them from delivering themselves over to that excess of rage, which in them generally succeeds to affright. He drew up the plan of this proclamation, which was carried into effect. Some hot headed people proposed to put all the officers under arrest.

"What, citizens!" replied he, "would you, on a vague suspicion, dishonour and maltreat the very men whom you so recently admitted into your club? I will take the charge of them upon myself, and within the space of two hours, you shall either be assured of their sidelity to their country, or I shall disencumber you of them without violence; leave this to me."

He immediately fent to awaken Lezay, the commanding officer of the regiment; he informed him of the uneafiness of the Vol. H. K. people,

people, ordered him to affemble the officers in his own apartment, describe to them the critical situation to which the nation was reduced, and leave to them the option, either of accompanying him to take an oath of obedience to the nation and the law, or of setting off at day-break, with the passports which he should provide for them.

In the course of three hours afterwards, Lezay arrived at the head of all the officers of his regiment, who, as well as those of the artillery and engineers, took the oath without any difficulty, in presence of the president of the department. He also issued, or caused to be issued, fresh orders relative to urgent affairs, and he retired at five o'clock in the morning, more fatigued than he had ever been before, at any one period of his whole life.

On his return home oppressed with the most prosound melancholy, he meditated on what he was to do. He was utterly ignorant of all the circumstances relative to the king's slight; he knew not whither he had gone, but he supposed, that he must have been assured of the support

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of part of the army, else he could have never dreamed of acting such a bold part. He gave credit to this prince, and those who influenced him, for a better combined plan than that which was adopted; and in consequence of this supposition, he already imagined Paris to be besieged, and swimming in blood.

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He had inftantly dispatched two notes, one to Vieillard, deputy from St. Lô, the other to Barrere; he told them, that without waiting for further orders, he was about to affemble as many troops as possible, with a design to march to the succour of the constituent assembly; for it was there he now only could look for that country which Louis had abandoned, after having within the last fortnight again renewed his oaths, and that too, without being asked to do so.

Vieillard read the note he had received by the courier; it was much applauded, and inferted in the proceedings. It fortified the courage of the reprefentatives, being the only one of the kind they had received

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from a general officer; feveral others demanded orders, but that was quite another thing.

He had a battalion of the regiment of Rohan-prince at Sables, two other battalions in la Vendee, at Nantes the regiment of Poitou, at Ancenis the regiment colonel-general of dragoons, and at Niort and Fontenay the fixth regiment of cavalry; in addition to this he could have produced four thousand good infantry, well armed, and excellently disciplined, from the national guards of Nantes, beside three hundred dragoons, eight four pounders, four twelve pounders, a company of artillery, and many volunteer cannoneers.

He issued the necessary orders for marching the very next morning, and in the course of the day he adopted proper measures relative to the protection of the coast, and the guarding the mouth of the Loire. He informed general Verteuil, that he was about to set out for Paris, but he did not communicate the particulars of his design to him, for he was not acquainted with his intentions,

intentions, and civil wars are always attended with this untoward circumstance, that they inspire a necessary jealousy.

He was thus ready to commence his march at the head of about eight thousand. troops, well affured of increasing the number at Angers, and Mans. He however concealed his project until the very moment he was about to carry it into execution, and he affected a still calmer air than that which he had affumed during the preceding night, He affifted at the procession on corpus christi day, and feized that occasion to inspect the troops narrowly. Happily, in the course of the fucceeding night, another courier arrived, and announced that the king had been overtaken, and brought back to Paris. feloriw owt

The violent agitation which he had experienced on learning the first intelligence, had too much absorbed all his faculties, to leave him time to observe the effect it had produced on the people; he however in general remarked, that after the first moments of consternation had elapsed, they were elevated to a violent rage, whence

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they had returned to that fullen and fierce disposition, which announced a fixed determination to defend their liberty, without entering into any argument respecting the choice of a future government.

- Become entirely calm, in confequence of the news brought by the fecond courier, Dumouriez was henceforth a more attentive observer. He perceived with chagrin, that it produced rather a disagreeable than a confolatory fensation. The aristocrats, who were very numerous at Nantes, appeared to be in a state of stupefaction, and the democrats, whose ideas were already beginning to wander after novelties, appeared not only to be very indifferent, but even very much discontented, at the re-appearance of a king, whom, during two whole days, they had treated as a perfidious man, and whose name was only mentioned to excite vengeance. From this moment the unfortunate Louis entirely loft that remnant of love, or of pity, which the people in the provinces had until then cherished for him.

The conduct of the constituent assembly was

was noble, grand, and generous. They not only faved the royal family from the imminent danger to which it would have been exposed by the fury of the people, but, after a necessary interval to restore tranquillity, they re-established the king in all his rights, and re-invested him with all his former dignity.

Dumouriez hoped, that the fenfibility of this prince and his court would be affected by fuch a proceeding; that they would reflect on their fituation, and the impossibility of any longer opposing the constitution; that they would remember, that the fafety of the king depended on his fulfilling his functions with exactness in order to regain the confidence of the nation; that they would contemplate the immense career which was opened for his goodness, and even for his glory, were he to attach himself heartily to the constitution; and the certainty of his ruin, and that of his august house, of the monarchy, and of all France, if he relapfed into his former conduct. He was perfuaded, that the terrible fault committed by Louis after having twice perjured himself would K 4 ferve ferve as a lesson to him; that his heart would be melted with the generosity of the French, who had restored to him a crown, which he had forfeited by the letter and spirit of that very constitution which he himself had sworn to obey; that he would look upon this event as a species of happiness, which would at length unite the minds of all men, and cause first considence and good faith, and afterwards love and order, to succeed to the intrigues, the conspiracies, the hatred, and the discord, which had reigned until then.

Replete with this reasonable expectation, which would not have been disappointed, had each faction, laying even patriotism aside, consulted its true interests, he resumed his correspondence with the unfortunate Laporte. He had trembled for the life of this virtuous friend, who had been sacrificed by his master on his departure, as he had charged him to present his protest to the constituent assembly. This faithful servant discharged the office imposed upon him with an heroic resignation, perfectly aware of the extent of his danger; for he

has fince acknowledged to his friend, that he did not expect to be permitted to live.

Alas! he was destined to be one of the first victims of the process which followed the fatal 12th of August 1792, and to precede by a few months his unfortunate master, who did not sufficiently lament him.

Laporte informed him that tranquillity was about to be restored, and Dumouriez deemed it his duty to employ the first moments he could spare from his other avocations in drawing up a memorial, which he afterwards transmitted to him from Niort, relative to the conduct which the king ought now to pursue,

- 1. With his own family, the ministers, and all those discontented with the new constitution;
 - 2. With the national affembly;
 - 3. With the clergy;
 - 4. With foreign powers;
 - 5. With the French nation;
 - 6. With the navy and army;
 - 7. In respect to appointments;

And, 8. Relative to the employment of the civil list.

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This memorial, which was pretty long of itself, announced eight other memorials, containing details relative to each of these divisions. He demanded, in case the king should be pleased with his labours, that leave of absence should be sent him, that he might return and finish the whole at Paris.

He confidered this as a touchstone of the king's real intentions; if he were recalled, he would be then fure that his memorial had made a profound impression, and that Louis was in reality determined to support himself by means of the constitution; on the contrary, if a continuation of his counfels was not demanded, he would then be inclined to doubt all his former hopes, and predict nothing henceforth but misfortunes: and this is what actually occurred. Laporte faithfully delivered his memorial; the king read it, made marginal notes with his own hand, and inclosed it with many other papers in the iron cheft; it was afterwards discovered in that fatal receptacle, and printed.

The court had refumed its former habits,

its fecret correspondence in foreign countries, and its corruptions, which only laid it at the mercy of the traitors, who thus filched its money. It had recommenced its intrigues, its petty conspiracies at Paris and in the provinces, its useless complaints, its attacks on the affembly and their labours, its ministerial imbecility, and its fatirical newspapers, which produced incendiary replications on the part of the Jacobins. The whole ministry had been changed after the king's flight, except Narbonne, who was at the head of the war department, and who was backed by a numerous party in the affembly; the remainder, for the most part, purfued the erroneous track of their predeceffors, especially Leffart, minister for foreign small affairs, anderole sight

The affembly, which had acted to grandly and to nobly on the event of the king's flight, and which had then faved France by its generous and prudent conduct, now relapted into its former puerile factions and venality; it no longer transacted any business worthy of notice; and it became so disgusting to France by its depravity, that every body

body fighed for that moment when it was to be replaced by another. Ashamed of itself, it aspired only to retire. Its last proceedings partook of its dejection; and it was very glad, in the month of October, to give place to the first legislature, which assumed the name of the National Assembly.

This was most horribly composed. Louis, who was badly advised, had not repaired by means of a frank conduct the fatal impression produced by his flight; on the contrary, his proceedings, and those of his court, augmented the distrust of the people.

Jacobins began to engross that influence, which afterwards produced a complete anarchy. This society, extending every where its numerous affiliations, made use of the provincial clubs to render itself master of the elections. All the hot-headed men, all the seditious scribblers, all the agitators, were nominated to represent the nation, and to defend, as they said, "its interests against a persidious court." Very sew sage or enlightened persons, and a still less number of nobles, were chosen; and the national assembly,

fembly, thus composed, met armed with prejudices and hostile intentions against the unfortunate Louis and his court.

It began by adoring the constitution, on purpose to establish its own authority; but the republicans were already at work in secret, and spread abroad their opinions in incendiary papers, which were multiplied in an astonishing degree.

It was this same assembly that, taking advantage in 1792 of the catastrophe of the 12th of August, which it had prepared, erected itself into a national convention, after having driven from its bosom some of its more enlightened members, and reinforced itself with villains and fools.

This affembly it was that made the king and queen perish on a scaffold; that immolated its most ardent supporters, such as Brissot, Vergniaux, &c.; that still reigns in France, surrounded by corpses and ruins. The guillotine is its throne, irreligion and anarchy its engines, and the French nation languishes in the most shameful and criminal slavery.

After having exhibited this rapid sketch of general events, it is time to return to what

what was passing at Nantes. Dumouriez had preferved all his military dispositions, and did not permit his authority to be invaded. He laboured confidentially with the administrative bodies, which were very prudent and fagacious, and concealed none of his measures from them. He did not act in the same manner with regard to the club at Nantes. This fociety affected to intermeddle in all the branches of government, under pretence of vigilance and inspection in regard to its agents. It was directed by a very dangerous man, called Couftard; he was a gentleman of Britanny, a knight of St. Louis, had been formerly a lieutenant of the marshals of France, and was then the commanding officer of the national guard. He was afterwards elected a member of the convention; and having attached himself to the girondifts, he at length perished by means of the guillotine.

He had acquired a great ascendancy over the populace, who were very numerous in this great town. He was dreaded by all good people, and had formed around him a kind of pretorian guard, consisting of a company company of fencing-masters and butchers. In the course of the preceding year he had first driven the duke de Maille, commandant-general of the province, from Nantes, and afterwards the regiment of Roban-prince, whose colonel, the brave d'Hervilly, he had endeavoured to get assassinated.

This factious leader was shocked at perceiving his credit eclipfed by a general officer, who could neither be reproached with the flightest aristocracy, nor with an outrageous democracy. He was the fworn enemy of the nobility and the clergy; the general protected both, and had feveral opportunities to put a stop to the excesses of the people, by fometimes employing the battalion of Poitou, on which he could depend, and fometimes the found part of the national guard, which in general was composed of good citizens. Coustard courted Dumouriez, who, however, watched him closely, restrained his criminal conduct, and yet did not appear to diffruft him.

He went but seldom to the club, which, however, sent a deputation to him to request permission to employ commissioners to inspect the cannon-founderies established in the isle of Hindret, a league distant from Nantes, which were under the direction of lieutenant-colonel Thouvenot, a man of merit, whose name will often occur in the course of these memoirs; and also to visit the old batteries along the coasts.

He told them in reply, that as citizens they might walk wherever they were not prevented by the want of a counter-fign, which precluded all those net duly authorised; that they possessed no title which could authorise him to permit them to exercise functions that were already occupied; that there was neither any external danger, nor any fear of a maritime war; that they ought to remain tranquil; and, above all things, should distrust those sedictious men, who endeavoured to inspire those ridiculous suspicions on purpose to produce anarchy.

His answer excited the utmost discontent; but the occurrences in La Vendee for some time suspended this quarrel. That department was agitated by the suries of persecution and fanaticism. The nobility were very unquiet, the priests very much irritated, and

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the democrats very intolerant. The cause of religion had excited an insurrection there about a month before the arrival of the general. The national guard had marched against the aristocrats, and a skirmish had taken place near a village called St. Clement. The troops of the line and the armed citizens prevailed, so that this first effort proved abortive. Part of the nobility of Poitou served in the navy; the greater number of these had taken refuge in Jersey; the remainder were in a state of tranquillity.

The intelligence of the king's flight had induced this party to resume their courage. An old gentleman, in other points very respectable, had affembled first at Luçon, and afterwards at his castle near Talmont, a great number of nobles; they conceived the project of rendering themselves masters of the port des Sables d'Olonne, where they might easily be joined by the emigrants of Jersey, who were to furnish them with arms and ammunition.

The king's return rendered all their meafures vain, but their assemblies had alarmed the department of la Vendée, where the Vol. II. democratic party was not very strong. The administrators wrote to those at Nantes, demanding immediate succour. The general set off with eight hundred infantry of the national guard, a hundred dragoons of the regiment of colonel-general, the company of grenadiers, a detachment of the regiment of Poitou, and sour field pieces, and he himself repaired to Machecoul, on purpose to dissipate this commotion, and prevent the two parties from coming to blows.

He there learned that the district of Sables had at the same time sent two hundred and sifty men of the regiment of Rohan-Soubise, with eight or nine hundred national guards, and armed peasants; that this party had marched against the castle of Mr. de la Lezardière; that the meeting, which consisted of about sifty gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty royalist peasants, had dispersed at the approach of this little army, which had pillaged and burnt the castle, and committed all the excesses to be expected from a troop badly conducted, and destitute of discipline.

On receiving intelligence of the march of the

the army of Sables, he had dispatched the chevalier de Lorencin, a captain of dragoons, at the head of fifty cavalry at full gallop, with orders to adopt every possible means of conciliation, and to prevent pillage and excess. Lorencin however arrived too late, and the general, who was much chagrined at this adventure, carried back his detachment to Nantes, being resolved in a short time to pay a visit to la Vendée, in order to keep both parties in awe, and prevent a civil war.

On his return, the fociety became more arrogant in its pretensions, and more intractable than ever in respect to its conduct. A false alarm was circulated by express. The jacobins of Sables, and those of Pimbeuf, sent word, that they had discovered frigates cruizing along that coast, and that a shallop had landed several armed men near the isle of Bouin.

The club spread the alarm throughout Nantes, and afferted it was an English squadron. The administrators, although they gave no credit to this intelligence, were yet obliged to mention it to the gene-

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ral, who on the first rumour had sent some officers to the spot, with orders to take down in writing such information as they could obtain from the municipalities. They soon returned with the most satisfactory evidence of the salsehood of the report. On being provided with the proper proofs, he repaired to the society, and as usual cautioned them against the sabricators of salse alarms, who wished to produce anarchy and discord. They observed in reply, that the people were desirous that he should put all the batteries on the coast in a state of defence, and that then their uneasiness would entirely cease.

He objected to this, that he could not carry such a measure into execution without money, and without orders; that he had neither cannoneers nor troops to man the batteries, and that the guard houses and the powder magazines on the coast were uninhabitable: he desired them to deliver in their demands in writing, and promised that he would instantly transmit them to the minister at war, whom he in the mean time informed, that in order to avoid a greater

inconvenience

inconvenience it would be proper to repair the batteries at the port of Croisic, at St. Nazaire, about a league below Nantes, Pimbeuf, and the port of Sables. Accordingly Duportail, who was then minister, had the good sense to transmit orders for carrying these regulations into effect: the sour batteries remained however during the whole summer, without any body to guard them. The guns were thus constantly exposed to be spiked by the first rogue who chose to do so, until the organization of sive battalions of national guards, which he received orders to levy in autumn, one in each department.

This balf-measure on the part of the general, did not give much satisfaction to the society. His mild and conciliatory conduct in respect to the priests, and the nobles, whom he daily protected from the sury of the clubbists, contributed not a little to inflame them still more against him. As he received intelligence that the inhabitants of la Vendée meditated a revolt, as he really had business of great consequence to transact in la Vendée, and as it was necessary for him to concert measures with general Ver-

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teuil, whom he had not yet seen, as also to inspect the troops of his division and to cause his authority to be recognized in the other departments, he set out from Nantes in the month of July.

Coustard in the mean time being elected a deputy, the club became more calm, and when the general returned in the course of the autumn, to levy the battalion of the lower Loire, he was greatly caressed, and repeatedly pressed to settle there; but it was then too late, as he had made other arrangements relative to his winter-quarters in a more central point of his very extensive command, and nearer to his lieutenant-general, who often stood in need of his assistance,

On his leaving Nantes, two very contradictory opinions prevailed respecting him. The jacobins looked upon him as a concealed aristocrat; the nobles as a violent democrat. Equally in opposition to the two factions, and meriting neither of these denominations, he had conducted himself according to the suggestions of a sincere patriotism; he was desirous of a monarchy and a constitution,

a constitution, and he would most willingly have sacrificed himself for the law and the king, provided the one was not separated from the other. In respect to a republic, he sound France too extensive, too rich, too relaxed in point of morals, to suppose that this species of government would prove congenial; and he regarded such a measure as a misfortune, and the source of a sanguinary anarchy. His opinion has never varied; he still thinks, even supposing the greatest success to attend the French republic, and this success to be followed by the most triumphant peace, that such a system can not endure.

He repaired first to Rochelle, where he spent a sew days with his respectable general, who soon became his friend. He afterwards resided at Fontenay-le-comte, or le-people, the capital of la Vendée. He had no other troops there than a single squadron, consisting of about one hundred and thirty men of the sixteenth regiment of cavalry, commanded by a very prudent officer called Dille. In that place he studied the manners of this part of Poitou, and investigated the La causes

causes of the frightful discord that prevailed throughout the province.

The constituent assembly had at first been joined by all the petty clergy, who acquired, in consequence of the revolution, an additional confideration, and a more happy lot. But foon after, by the most childish imprudence, it had subjected the clergy to an oath, by which they were to submit to all the constitutional decrees, then, or afterwards to be enacted. This oath was equally abfurd and unjust. It rendered all who possessed either shame or conscience hostile. The priests the most attached to liberty renounced their benefices. The aristocrats and the dignified clergy took advantage of this defertion, to brandish the torch of fanaticism. Instead of repealing this obnoxious law, the legislators confidered only how they could best support it, and the jacobins, enchanted at an opportunity of committing excesses with impunity, commenced a cruel perfecution. The lower clergy of Poitou were respectable men. Irreproachable manners, more virtues than knowledge, and a patriarchal fimplicity, had procured to them paternal authority

thority in their respective parishes. Their livings were filled up by apostate monks, and priests equally destitute of character and morals.

The peasant of Poitou is naturally good, simple, unenlightened, extremely religious, and even superstitious. The greater part of the villages resuled these new pastors, concealed their venerable priests, and soon began to assemble in the woods, to receive spiritual assistance, while in the parish churches divine service was performed to empty pews, with the assistance of sixed bayonets.

These assemblies, although the pretext, and even the real motive of the greater number, was religion alone, occasioned great uneasiness on the part of the administrative bodies; this was sometimes well founded, because the aristocrats might make use of them as a cover for the most dangerous designs.

The general was folicited to fend detachments to disperse them. He procured information relative to all the priests concealed in the department, and all the nobles who inhabited

inhabited it; this afforded him an opportunity of dissipating two or three of these meetings, and of secretly protecting the others, by causing prudent advice to be given to the honest priests, who were very numerous.

When the administrators communicated their fears to him relative to a meeting which he knew to be innocent, he got on horseback along with his aides-de-camps, repaired thither without any escort, and returned, followed with the blessings of these good people.

During the whole time he resided in la Vendée, he never fired a single musket, and only imprisoned two seditious priests. The club at Nantes anticipated the decree for sending them to jail, and forced the department to shut up a great number of them, who were not afterwards released without the greatest difficulty,

The legislators, previously to the adoption of so violent a measure, sent commissioners into several departments, with a design to procure information. The two selected for la Vendée were Gensonné, an advocate of Bourdeaux.

Bourdeaux, and Gallois, a man of letters, belonging to Paris. They were both replete with genius, wisdom, and moderation. The general accompanied them for the space of a month throughout the department, and presented them with a memorial containing his own observations. Gensonné was elected a member of the national affembly, and that circumstance proved his ruin: he was instructed to deliver in an account of this miffion. He engrafted the whole of Dumouriez memorial on his own report, but he dared not to infert the plan of the decree drawn up by that general, containing a modification of the oath. His report did not contain any conclusions whatever. It however included an eulogium on the general, who fucceeded in pacifying the country.

This same department has since become the focus of a barbarous civil war; it is now only a heap of ashes, and of ruins, although the inhabitants merit a far better sate. One man endowed with sagacity might have easily preserved tranquillity throughout the whole of this country, which the general quitted with regret.

During

During the winter he fixed his abode at Niort, the capital of the department of the two Sêvres. The inhabitants were good people; he was beloved by them, and he possessed very agreeable apartments in the castle.

There was a club here, but it was less fiery than that at Nantes; he was prefident of it during a month, and he repeated the experiment on this fociety, which he had formerly made on the academy of Cherbourg. He prevailed on the members to occupy their time in useful matters, such as the plans of new roads and canals, the refining of gunpowder, the manufacture of faltpetre, and the formation of charitable establishments. These useful occupations prevented them from delivering themselves over to that impetuofity which rendered the other focieties fo dangerous. He thus fpent the conclusion of the year 1791, and the month of January of the succeeding year, amidft the pleasures of study and of friendship. This was the fole period fince the fatal epoch of the revolution, during which be enjoyed tranquillity.

The town of Niort invited him to inscribe his name in the register of its citizens. Oh. good people of Niort! whatever at present may be your opinion in respect to general Dumouriez, he still esteems you as the fellow-citizens of his adoption! all his wishes are directed towards your welfare! May your errors, and the evils that have refulted from them, foon cease! May your virtues, which are only obscured, burst forth with redoubled lustre! You are worthy of happiness and of liberty: it is the abuse of the one that has destroyed the other! You are less culpable than any other corner of France. and yet a civil war has rendered you the most miserable of Frenchmen. Oh! how happy will it render him to learn before hisdeath, that happiness and wisdom have once more made Niort the place of their abode!

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CHAP. VI.

Dumouries Minister for Foreign Affairs.

It was decreed that Dumouriez should exchange this calm, and, if not happy, at least tranquil situation, for the most boisterous and stormy reverse. The emigration of general officers had been so prevalent, that in the month of January 1792, he became a lieutenant-general by seniority, and this necessarily detached him from the twelsth division.

A war was already spoken of, and preparations were made accordingly. Narbonne had taken a tour along the frontiers, to issue orders for putting them into a state of desence. Three armies had been formed. That of the north, commanded by the marshal de Rochambeau, that of Alsace by marshal Luckner (they were now both decorated with the dignity of marshal), and that of the centre by Lafayette, who had been recalled from his estate, whither he had retired after having lost his popularity in the capital, through the influence of the jacobins.

Dumouriez received orders from the minister at war to return to Paris. Some of his friends at the same time solicited Lessart, then at the head of the foreign department, to demand that he should repair thither; they wished that he should give him some advice, of which he stood greatly in need, because his talents did not reach above mediocrity, and the feebleness of his negotiations had embroiled the exterior so much, as to throw him into inextricable embarrassments.

He now enjoyed the pleasure of again seeing his unfortunate friend Laporte, whom he conjured to resign. This sacrifice might perhaps have saved him. The new assembly, excepting the members of the departments where he had resided, and some of the old legislators, was entirely unknown to Dumouriez. It was two months without doing much good, being employed merely

merely in feeling the pulse of public affairs, and this circumstance unfortunately lulled the court into a fatal security. The ministers quarrelled with one another, as in former times. Narbonne, who presided in the war department, was the declared enemy of Bertrand, then at the head of the marine, who openly affected aristocracy. The court leaned toward the latter, and Narbonne was supported by Brissot, Condorcet, and the Gironde, who, although but just arrived, had already acquired a preponderance by the superiority of its orators.

Gensonné, ever since his return from la Vendée, had panegyrised general Dumouriez to this party, and wished to see him, either at the head of an army, or a minister. Lessart affected to ask his advice, but Lameth, Duport, Beaume, and several others of the former legislators, who seemed only to remain in Paris, on purpose to turn the new assembly into ridicule, possessed the whole of his considence. They were the leaders of the Feuillans, who formed an opposition in the assembly, and out of the assembly aided the

the king's party against the jacobins. Dumouriez at this period, and indeed ever since the last year, had constantly said to his friend Laporte: "If I were king, I would become a jacobin, on purpose to get the better of all parties." He has often reslected on this circumstance, and he is still of opinion, that it would have been the best counsel which Louis XVI could have followed, for from that moment the tone of that society would have been entirely altered.

Narbonne received Dumouriez very graciously, and announced to him, that he was to be employed under Luckner, in the army of Alsace, and to command the division of Besançon. He accepted of this appointment, but at the same time lamented, that at a moment when, according to appearance, a war was on the eve of taking place, and was likely to become general, the south should have been neglected, although France might be unexpectedly attacked in that quarter; he added that he deemed it necessary to form a plan of defence, and to employ a commander in chief, and an army there.

Narbonne approved of this idea; and Du-Vol. II. M moureiz mouriez being charged with the necessary arrangements, thut himself up during three days with a clerk at the war office, and then produced his plan to the minister. It was his wish to be appointed the general of this army, which he regarded as a last refource; for he suspected, that this legislature would not be able to support itself against that scorn with which it was then overwhelmed, and dreaded left the nation. cheated and betrayed, should have recourse to a civil war; he did not conceal his opinion from Gensonné, and several other members of the Gironde, with whom Gensonné had made him acquainted. They evinced fimilar fears to him, and supported his pretensions with all their influence. Scarcely however had he delivered in his plan to Narbonne, when that minister, and his antagonist Bertrand, were both dismissed.

Degraves succeeded to Narbonne; he was attached to the constitution, young, deftitute of experience, and inadequate to his situation both on account of the state of his health, and his timidity in public affairs. Dumouriez transmitted to the new minister

minister a copy of his plan of defence for the fouth, and it was refolved, that he should be appointed commander in chief of a fourth army. He frequently faw Leffart, who was often advised by Laporte to follow his advice. They had all three studied together, but Leffart had never cultivated an intimacy with the two friends.

Dumouriez learned daily from the Gironde, fome members of which were in the diplomatic committee, that this committee, and especially Briffot, who was the leader of it, were exceedingly discontented with Leffart's negotiations, particularly those with the court of Vienna, and that that court embraced the opportunity thereby afforded, of returning replies which grossly insulted the nation.

On this he waited upon Leffart, and communicated his danger to him. That minister, basking in an ideal security, told him in reply, that the negotiation was in a profperous train, and by way of proving it produced the copies of his dispatches to Mr. de Noailles, ambaffador from France to the emperor, the answers of that mi-, to komman nister.

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nister, a note which he had caused to be presented to the prince de Kaunitz, and the reply to the same. The last of these was conceived in terms disgustfully haughty; it consisted of a libel on the jacobins, and a formal refusal to regard the king as free.

The astonishment of Dumouriez could only be equalled by the tranquillity of Lessart. "Has the diplomatic committee any knowledge of these papers?" said the former.

"Yes, they have copies of them all."

"In that case you are ruined if you do not go and withdraw them instantly, present an answer conceived in a firm, and determined tone to the writing of Mr. de Kaunitz, and promise always to negotiate hereafter in the same style."

Leffart was not convinced. The dupe of the Feuillans, he thought himself sure of being supported by a great party in the assembly. The fall of Narbonne was a check which Brissot's friends had lately received, and he doubted not but he should be able to triumph in case of an attack. On leaving him, Dumouriez went and told Laporte,

Laporte, that he considered Lessart as undone.

On the very next day Briffot denounced Leffart, and stated a variety of accusations against him. He then demanded that this minister should be defired to appear before, and read to the affembly, the particulars of this negotiation with the court of Vienna, which, after an attentive examination, he deemed highly culpable. This happened to be on a Thursday, the day on which the foreign ambassadours dined with the minister. Dumouriez was invited to be of the party. Lessart went to the assembly in the course of the forenoon, and when he read the papers, murmurs of disapprobation were heard every where, even on the right hand fide*. The papers were ordered to be printed, and the committee was enjoined to make a report upon them.

Lessart, considering the printing of the papers as an auspicious circumstance, ap-

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^{*} The Feuillans, who founded the conflitution in the former assembly, and supported the royal authority in this, were accustomed to sit on the president's right hand.—

Trans.

peared to be very well fatisfied. The foreign ministers, who are always crafty, loaded him with compliments; but Dumouriez spoke to him in private, and faid: " In God's name make hafte to do what I before told you; it is perhaps not yet too late." He continued in a state of blind fecurity. Two days afterwards, in confequence of the report of the terrible Briffot, who was never more happy than when he was employed in doing an ill office, the affembly paffed a decree for arrefting him. and the unfortunate Lessart was fent to Orleans, whence he was only brought back to be murdered along with the other prifoners at Verfailles, in the month of September of that same year.

Dumouriez at this time was confined to his chamber by a severe cold; in the course of the succeeding night, which was either the 9th or 10th of March, the minister at war called upon and informed him, that the king had appointed him minister for foreign affairs, but on this condition, that he should accept of it only ad interim, because, as Lessart was to be tried immediately,

diately, and not being criminal, he would foon return from Orleans, and re-assume his functions.

He replied, that he neither wished to be minister ad interim, nor sine interim, and that he would prefer the command which had been promised him. Degraves insisted on his acceptance, and Dumouriez persisted in his refusal.

Louis XVI, ever fince the revolution, had been accustomed to charge the oldest member of the council with the care of proposing proper persons to fill up the vacancies; and Degraves. who had been in administration only ten days, was already in that fituation. He was connected with Petion; and the Gironde and Gensonné had prevailed on the diplomatic committee to influence his choice. The connections that had fublisted between Dumouriez and the count de Broglio and Favier, the diplomatic memorial which he had read to the jacobins, of which a new edition had just made its appearance, and his prudent conduct in the department of la Vendée, had induced the majority of the members of the affembly to defire he might

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be appointed to this office. Degraves had accordingly mentioned him to the king, and the king to Laporte, who advised his majesty to give his affent.

On the following day Cahier de Gerville, minister of the home department, a man of a pure and enlightened civism, and one in whom the king placed a just considence, waited upon him from his majesty with an intention to prevail upon him to accept of the appointment. He begged him to make his excuses to the king, and to tell him that, independently of his thinking himself better fitted for a military life, he would never accept of that place ad interim.

"Our affairs," continued he, "have already affumed but too unfavourable an aspect in foreign countries, for their courts to treat with a temporary minister; besides, a temporary appointment is an incautious proceeding, against which the national assembly will protest. In addition to all this, the king himself will be injured by it, as it will seem to indicate that he thinks the decree against his late minister unjust, or at least hasty. Thus, far from restoring Lessart to his former situation.

fituation, it would infallibly prove his ruin." He added, "That he himself was of opinion that the arrest was precipitate, because, in conformity to the judicial proceedings of a free people, they ought to have commenced with a decree of accusation, and heard Lessart previously to his confinement; a circumstance which prejudged his supposed crimes." This, however, was an additional motive to induce him to desire, that the king would nominate another person to sulfil such dangerous functions.

Cahier de Gerville returned to Louis, and re-appeared soon after with orders to accept the place sine interim. He then complied out of pure obedience, hoping to become more useful to his country and his king, and regretting much that he was obliged to abandon the command of the southern army, which was conferred on Montesquiou, who proved worthy of it, and who would have filled with credit any station that could have been conferred upon him, being a real statesman.

He entered into administration on the morning of the 15th of March, and was presented to the king. He assisted at the council

council in the evening without a portfolio, having no bufiness prepared, and made himfelf acquainted with the forms. This council was composed of only three ministers, Degraves, Cahier de Gerville, and Dumouriez. Duport-Dutertre had given in his refignation, and appeared no longer at the board. The marine and finance departments were vacant.

Next day the king granted Dumouriez a private audience in conformity to his demand. The world is much deceived in respect to the character of this prince, who has been described as a violent and choleric man, who swore frequently, and was accustomed to treat his ministers with much roughness. Dumouriez, on the contrary, ought to do him justice by observing, that during the three months he was accustomed to see him, and that too in very difficult situations, he always found him polite, mild, affable, and even very patient.

This prince evinced a great timidity, which proceeded from his education and his distrust of himself; he had a difficulty in speaking, possessed a moderate but correct judgment,

judgment, a pure heart, and much knowledge relative to the arts, history, and, more especially, geography: in addition to all this, he was gifted with an astonishing memory. He was weak in point of character, and yet he shewed great firmness, or what may be better termed great resignation. At this period he often mentioned his death to Dumouriez, as an event which he anticipated, and he spoke of it with the utmost coolness.

Every body recollects what occurred on that day when he was infulted by Santerre and the populace of Paris, on which occafion they placed the red bonnet on his head. He laid hold of the hand of a grenadier belonging to the national guards, and placing it on his breaft, he faid to him, "Feel if my heart beats stronger than usual." He was good, and yet he was but little susceptible of regret, and still less of attachment, except for the queen. On the whole he was a very good prince; and had he been better educated, would have become one of our best kings.

Dumouriez accosted him in the following manner: "Your order, sire, to accept the place

place which I had before refused, persuades me that your majesty no longer entertains any prejudices against me."

" Most certainly."

"Then, fire, I shall devote myself to your service; but the situation of a minister is no longer the same as heretofore; without ceasing to be the zealous servant of your majesty, I am the man of the nation. I shall always address you in the language of liberty and the constitution; wholly occupied with my functions, I shall not often have an opportunity of paying my court to you; and in this particular I shall wave all manner of ceremony, the better to serve you. I shall not transact business but with your-self, or at the council board.

"Nearly all those entrusted by you with diplomatic functions are in a state of open counter revolution. I am pressed to propose a change to you. I shall perhaps hurt your feelings in the choice of their successors; I shall mention candidates, some of whom you are unacquainted with, and others whose names will displease you. When your repugnance may be too strong and well founded, as you are the

the master, I will obey; but if your choice be suggested by those who surround you, and is visibly calculated to do you hurt, in that case I supplicate you either to follow my opinion, or to appoint me a successor.

"Think of the many and terrible dangers that beliege your throne. It is necessary to fupport it by means of the public confidence; this is a conquest yet to be achieved, fire, and it entirely depends upon you. I have this morning drawn up the plan of four important dispatches; I shall present them at the first council. They do not refemble, either in the principles or the style, those of my predecessors, because these matters ought to be entirely directed by circumstances. If my labours are agreeable to you, I shall continue them; if not, my camp equipage will always be kept in readiness, in order to ferve my country and you in the army; that is my real element, and the great object of all my thoughts for these last thirtyfix years."

The king, much astonished at this discourse, kindly replied, "I like your frankness; I know you to be attached to me; I wish

wish for the constitution, and I hope that I shall be well pleased with your labours." A great many things had been said to me against you.

Louis then spoke to him about what had occurred in Normandy; and after an explanation of the facts, he appeared to be satisfied.

On his leaving the cabinet immediately after the king, who went to mass, all the courtiers avoided him, as if he had been affected with the plague, except two or three with whom he had been long acquainted. The marshal de Noailles, the duke de Nivernois, and the unfortunate duke de Brissac, assured him of their friendship.

Next day he presented to the council four memorials intended for the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Berlin, and St. James's. They contained the principles on which he wished them to be hereafter negotiated with; and each of the ambassadours stationed there, instead of garbling their dispatches, had orders henceforth to communicate the whole, and even to present a copy to the department for foreign affairs.

The minister in all these papers spoke in the

the king's name, but directly in the sense prescribed by the constitution, without menace, and without timidity. He discussed the true interests of each of these powers relative to the French revolution; and as all of them complained of the scandalous pamphlets published by the jacobins, he attributed these injuries, which at the bottom were despicable, to the indefinite liberty of the press during a revolutionary period.

He moreover quoted the example of the English, who even in the most tranquil times fpeak of courts and nations with an injurious licence, not only in their numerous newfpapers, but often in their parliament, and even in the house of peers. He observed that no power had ever dreamed of declaring war against Great Britain, or of sequestering that country from the grand political body on account of these trifling occurrences, for which, as they proceeded neither from the government nor the nation, these could not be responsible. He concluded by demanding peace in the name of a free people, of whom the king was the hereditary representative.

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The dispatches gave great satisfaction to the king, who said, "The like of these have never been presented to me before." Cahier de Gerville replied: "Sire, this is the manner in which ministers ought always to speak and write in your majesty's name." The couriers were all ready, and the dispatches were sent off that very night.

It was at this council that Degraves proposed four new ministers; for, notwithstanding the intreaties of the king and those of his two colleagues, Cahier de Gerville infifted on retiring, his health being indeed in a very precarious state. The king confirmed his choice. Here follows the manner in which it was made. Degraves, as has been already faid, being the fenior member of the council, was charged to present to his majesty a list of those whom he deemed most proper to become ministers. He knew but very few, and Dumouriez still fewer; they were scarce: the greater number of those, whom either would have chosen, were emigrants or decided counter-revolutionists; and in respect to the new men, whom the revolution might have produced, they had far too little knowledge of them to be able to make a proper felection.

Petion and Roederer were at the head, the one of the municipality, the other of the department of Paris. These two men, as also Brissot, Condorcet, and some of the members for Paris, appeared to be the best calculated to give them the necessary information. They accordingly consulted them. Their choice was also greatly circumscribed by the decree of the constituent assembly, enacting that none of its members should occupy any public employment until the expiration of two years after the dismission of that legislature. Had it not been for this, they would not have been so much embarrassed.

Dumouriez only nominated one minister, and that for the naval department, which was the most difficult of all to fill up properly. This was Lacoste, commissaire-ordonnateur of the marine.

He recollected, that having been formerly first clerk, he had preferred giving in his refignation to the minister de Boynes, to par-Vol. II. N ticipating far from injuring Lacoste, although it occurred in the days of corruption, procured him the place of agent for the colonies. He was exceedingly industrious, possessed great experience, an uncommon share of courage, a tried probity, an enlightened patriotism. This was the sole appointment suggested by Dumouriez. Degraves gave his consent, and the Bordelais ** rendering justice to Lacoste, who happened to be at Paris, he was the first on the list.

In respect to the rest, the Gironde, perceiving that there was not any person in the capital proper to fill the office of minister of justice, proposed an advocate of Bourdeaux, called Duranton, who possessed considerable reputation. He was a man of sufficient knowledge, very honest, and an excellent citizen; but he was slow and irresolute. He also was appointed, and he arrived at the end of a fortnight.

Claviere, a man of great talents, and a

relation

^{*} Another name for the ruling party of that day in the national convention, Bourdeaux being the principal town in the department of Gironde.—Trans.

relation or ally of Brissot, who had been successively connected with Mirabeau, Lafayette, and the bishop of Autun, and who had drawn up a very celebrated and excellent memorial relative to the sinances, was proposed and accepted as minister of public contributions.

Roland, who, under the old government, had been long inspector of commerce and manufactures, and who was known by means of some very able works on these subjects, was chosen minister for the home department.

The council was thus complete, and it was well selected. Each of these six members possessed talents, industry, and a knowledge of his own particular vocation; and had it been in less difficult, or rather less passionate times, they would have conducted the affairs of the kingdom with ability. The court, and the aristocratical news-papers, were very witty on this administration. Roland was said to resemble a starch and formal quaker. His straight white hair, with very little powder, a black suit of clothes, and shoes sastened with strings in-

ftead of buckles, made them confider him as a rhinoceros. His appearance, however, was at once decent and agreeable.

They were pleased to termthis the sansculotte administration. A courtier called one day on Dumouriez, and told him that this was the sirname which had been given to them in the Thuilleries. "If we are sansculottes," replied he, "it will be more easily discovered that we are men." The court papers never designated him by any other appellation than that of the bonnet-rouge minister, because, in consequence of a mistake, he had been obliged to appear in this attire at a sitting of the Jacobins, the very next day after his entrance into the ministry." The fact is, that

^{*} The anecdote here alluded to, is as follows: The very next day after his appointment to the foreign department, he paid his court to the Jacobin society. The red cap had been for some time introduced as an emblem of patriotism, and was then worn by the president. Flattered with the appearance of one of the ministers, the members received him with every mark of respect; and the citizen who presided, under pretence of doing him honour, encircled his brows with the bonnet-rouge. Dumouriez was anxious for the support of this very powerful and popular club; but he was not aware of this ceremony, which

he never went thither again but once, and that was on his return from the campaign against the Prussians.

As to the appellation of fansculottes, he believes that it was at this very period invented by the courtiers. It has produced still more terrible consequences than that of raggamussins in the Low Countries. It may here be remarked, that almost all the nicknames designating parties are vile; and that, notwithstanding this, it is generally the faction, superiour in point of dignity, that has invented them, to express its scorn.

These members, with more apparent propriety, but at the same time with as little truth, were termed the Jacobin administration.

which rendered him ridiculous in the eyes of the courtiers, and, confidering his principles, must have been a great mortification.—Trans.

* The French expression is gueux. The translator believes the original term of reproach to have been bettler, from the German word bettel, or ragged, of which the Spanish courtiers were very liberal in the application to the Dutch patriots, who relieved their country from the tyranny of Philip II. It exactly corresponds to our modern phrase of the fwinish multitude.—Trans.

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Neither

Neither Lacoste, Degrave, nor Duranton, were ever members of the fociety alluded to. Dumouriez, Roland, and Claviere, were three very studious, and laborious men, who lived at home, affifted but very feldom at the debates of this club previously to their entrance into the administration, never afterwards; and who confidered it as a dangerous affembly, which it was necessary either to suppress, or lull asleep, in order to render it less hurtful. The Girondists were of the same opinion, and the moment they thought themselves sure of a ministry, all the members of which had been appointed by their influence, they attacked too early and too imprudently those very Jacobins, whom they thus rendered more furious and more powerful, and who in the end affaffinated them by means of that very poniard of republicanism, which they themselves had sharpened and confided to their barbarous hands.

Dumouriez ought here to explain a feeming contradiction, which will appear felfevident to his readers, more especially such as, opening his works with prejudices against him, him, may seek to spy out errours. He has announced throughout the whole course of these memoirs, that he never belonged to any faction, and yet he is here appointed to the ministry by the Girondists, he allows the choice of his colleagues to be scrutinized by them, he receives a treasurer for his own department from them, and consults them on the appointment of the diplomatic agents in foreign countries. To solve this enigma, it is only necessary to refer to the different epochs.

It was on the 26th of February 1792 that he arrived at Paris from Niort, and he entered on his office on the 15th of March. The affembly had only existed since the preceding October, and had not as yet fixed its politics, its intrigues, and its factions. It was covered with ridicule by the ancient Constitutionals, who were the leaders of the Feuillans, and who supposed that if they fucceeded in destroying it, they themselves would be recalled, and establish the system of two houses of parliament, in imitation of England. This party formed the right hand fide of the convention. All the reft, . N. 4 whether

whether Jacobins, Girondists, or Impartialists, now united in one body to resist this formidable attack. The Gironde faction, properly so called, was not as yet in being.

Dumouriez on his appointment knew the leaders of the Feuillans to be rash, and puerile intriguers. He was neither the enemy of the fystem of two chambers, nor the advocate for it. Provided the monarchy were supported by means of a folid constitution, he cared but little about its elements. But he distrusted the measures of that faction: he was afraid, if it succeeded in annihilating this affembly, that it would be unable to produce another, and that the maw of despotism would devour all the parties, whence he anticipated a civil war. Thus he supported the Girondists, not as a faction, but as being the stay of the national affembly.

Degraves and Lacoste thought as he did. The first retired; the second strove along with him against the Gironde when it became in its turn a tyrannical faction, with a defign to support the executive power; from

that

that moment they were exposed to all the rancour of its fury, more especially Dumouriez, who previously cautioned, and afterwards unmasked them. There were at first but two members of the administration who could be termed real Girondifts: these were Claviere and Roland. After this, Servan, who succeeded Degraves, might be confidered as appertaining to that party; but Dumouriez, Lacoste, and even Duranton, were always independants. The last of these displeased them so much, that they forced him to return to Bourdeaux, whence they had formerly brought him, because, without infringing on his patriotism, he had displayed an attachment towards Louis XVI, who was also fond of him.

Dumouriez, on his entering into administration, endeavoured to attach the faction of the Gironde to the king; he mentioned this matter to Laporte, whom he saw less frequently than heretofore, and even then with caution. This prince would have done right had he followed this advice, instead of permitting himself to be deceived by the Feuillans, who proved his ruin.

It was this circumstance that produced that letter to the king from Gensonné, Vergniaud, and Guadet, which proved one of the crimes wherewith they were repreached. At that epoch, the king by their means might have conciliated the affections of the whole assembly, and even of the Jacobins themselves; the government would then have assumed a more masculine tone, and circumstances would have brought about the rest. The evil genius of France disconcerted all these measures on purpose to destroy the royal family, the Feuillans, and the Girondists, and to produce the triumph of russians.

This is the whole truth, and the feries of facts that follows will afford the complete proof. Dumouriez never had in view but one object, and that was to unite the king and the nation indiffolubly together, by means of the constitution. Beyond this, he could perceive no other resource for the salvation of his country, with the dangers of which he was but too well acquainted.

At the epoch of his administration he wrote a letter to the president of the assem-

bly, in which he demanded the fum of fix millions of livres as fecret fervice money for his department. This had been refused to his predecessors, because the nature of the expences necessarily precluding a detailed and public account, its employment might become dangerous. The Feuillans, and the right fide exclaimed against this demand, afferting that this money would be employed in subfidizing the Jacobins, or squandered among those who had made him minister. Their bitterness occasioned his success. He had announced, that if it were not granted to him he would not remain in office, and it was at length decreed, that the minister for foreign affairs should have fix millions at his difposal for the secret expences of his department, of which he was not to render any account. He received the decree, which he did not fo much as read. and also the sum. This affair will be again mentioned.

Petion was at this time mayor of Paris; he concealed, under a mild and prudent appearance, a heart coldly wicked. Dumouriez, who knew but little of him, faw that

that he possessed great credit, and wished to reconcile him to the king, with a view to diminish the dangers and vexations of that prince. Petion was destitute of funds for conducting the police of Paris; he demanded through the intervention of the Girondists and the ministers, and afterwards in person. that he should be supplied with thirty thoufand livres per month, which were to be expended on the police.

Before Dumouriez acceded to this proposition, which he deemed just, supposing, as he had promised, that this money should be expended in counteracting the agitators of the people, in discovering the plots of foreign agents, and in enfuring the tranquillity of Paris, he mentioned it to the king, who knowing the mayor of Paris better than he did, addressed him as follows: " Petion is my enemy; you will foon fee that he will expend this money in circulating libels against me; but if you think it may prove useful, grant it." The minister imagined that this prince was influenced by prejudice; he accordingly observed, that the refusal of fuch a fum would be confidered as a declaration

ration of suspicion, and animosity, and that it would render him an irreconcileable enemy; he moreover added, that he deemed it prudent to advance money for the use specified, and that it might prove the means of a reconciliation; in short, in any case the sum was too small to render the abuse of it hurtful. Louis consented. The minister caused the money to be carried to Petion, and having discovered that the king was in the right, he never made more than one payment.

Those employed in the office for foreign affairs, and the ministers abroad, were decidedly counter-revolutionary. His predeces-fors, who were better courtiers than statesmen, had been more busied in conducting intrigues than in administering the business of the nation; indeed ever since the disgrace of the duke de Choiseul, it had lost all its influence in foreign countries, which it appeared however to have resumed for a moment, under Mr. de Vergennes; but this was only to relapse into its former degradation under the archbishop Brienne.

France,

France, notwithstanding its physical advantages, had become in the scale of European politics little better than a secondary power. The revolution, and the conduct of the emigrants, had completed its annihilation, and it was then blotted out, as it were, from the political map. It was necessary, if its consideration was to be restored, to change all its agents, and employ others better calculated to support with dignity its constitutional system.

He began with reforming his own offices. The two first clerks, Gerard de Renneval and Henin, conducted the affairs of this department, and produced dispatches ready drawn up for the minister's signature. These immediately demanded leave to retire on purpose to anticipate the intentions of the new minister. He portioned out his department into six separate classes. He appointed a director-general. He created a private secretaryship, and reserved all the great dispatches for himself.

In the choice of new agents he consulted the most enlightened members of the asfembly, and with an exception of two or three three Jacobins who happened to slip in, the selection was good.

The Girondists blamed the nomination of Bonne-Carrère as director-general. He did not belong to any faction. His youth had been rather debauched; he had been a gambler and a man of pleasure, which had cast an unfavourable gloss on his morals. Mirabeau, with whom he was intimately connected, had gotten him appointed minister at Liege. Formerly fecretary to the Jacobins, out of whose register his name had been expunged, he was acquainted with all the mysteries of that society. He was very faithful in his attachments, extremely active, was acquainted with all Paris, all the factions, all the deputies of the affembly, and the court. In addition to all this, he was fingularly laborious, possessed a great facility in business joined to great clearness, and during the three months that he remained with Dumouriez, he proved uncommonly ferviceable. He was also very exact in money matters, fo that his very numerous and virulent enemies had no well founded reproach to make him on this score. He was besides indefatigable; his society was very agreeable, and he might be depended upon; in short he was well calculated for his office, which he filled with great dexterity and utility.

In addition to the advantage reaped by the public, the minister by means of his reforms produced a great faving in his own department. He began with himself. His appointments amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand livres; he reduced this sum to one hundred and twenty thousand, at the same time ordering an increase of salary for the inferior clerks, and requiring more labour and affiduity on their part; upon the whole he economifed his own office only to the amount of one hundred and thirty thousand livres. He laid the two comparative estimates before the king, who was well pleased with his alterations, because they were conformable to his own principles. He also transmitted copies of them to the diplomatic committee, in order to fix irrevocably his plan, which was also greatly approved of by them.

He then examined the state of the pen-

fions. The funds for conducting foreign affairs did not exceed five hundred thousand livres a month, one moiety of which was destined for the maintenance of ministers in foreign courts, their secretaries, clerks, &c., and also for the payment of annuities to them when permitted to retire; of the other half, the accounts were only delivered to the king himself, under the denomination of secret expences.

This fecond moiety was burdened to the amount of about a million of livres, in pensions to powerful noblemen, foreigners, spies, and the fecrecy of the post-office, in other words, for the scandalous abuse of this institution, by the opening of letters.

He had great difficulty in procuring an exact lift of these pensioners, who did not appear themselves, but always received their allowance at the end of every quarter, on producing the orders of former ministers. He discovered this trick, and commanded the payment to be suspended, until their titles to their respective pensions should be verified.

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He then divided the pensions into three classes.

- 1°. Those of the old servants of the state, which were the worst paid. He caused the arrears to be liquidated, even presented new gratifications to those whose demands had been rejected, and augmented others which were too small, such as the allowance of Messrs. Follard and Odunne, formerly ministers, and then in the eightieth year of their lives.
- 2°. The pensions granted in virtue of treaties, or engagements entered into, in the name of France; such as those assigned to the house of Parma, to that of Carignan, and to the countess of Albany, widow of the pretender. He continued these without any difficulty whatever.
- 3°. The pensions granted by mere favour, or without any claim on the score of diplomatic services, or engagements with France; for example, Mr. Dogny, formerly intendant-general of the post-office, a man with an income of more than two hundred thousand livres, had a pension of thirty thousand

livres

livres a year out of the fecret fervice money. He instantly, and without scruple, cancelled all these unjust pensions, and with a single stroke of his pen gained between fix and seven hundred thousand livres for his department. He had courage enough to resist the king's repugnance on this occasion, and when the business was once sinished, his majesty was extremely well pleased with it.

Montmorin and Lessart had prevailed upon the king to nominate successors to all the ministers in foreign courts, an arrangement which produced a double expence. He represented, that none of these substitutes could be employed without embroiling the executive power anew with the nation. The prince accordingly suppressed this list, and the double employment instantly ceased. In short, by these means he enriched his department to the amount of more than a million.

He caused a list, and minutes relative to all the diplomatic candidates, proposed by the committee, to be drawn out; he himself only appointed four, who had been formerly ministers, and with whose talents he was

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well

well acquainted; and five others, who, although never employed in that capacity, were well informed men: these were the chevalier de Taulès, Chateauneus his cousin, Emanuel de Maulde, nephew of marshal d'Armentieres, Naillac, and Mourgues.

He presented this list to the king, and stated at the same time, that although pressed by the diplomatic committee to remove the whole of the ministers, he would not propose to him to make this change all at once, but by degrees, and as the necessity of negotiations might require; which would afford time to make inquiries relative to the principles and talents of those included in the list: and he added, that, five excepted, he did not know one of them.

He also remarked, that among the ministers at present employed, three classes ought to be distinguished:

1. Those who had openly avowed counter revolutionary principles, and who ought to be instantly recalled;

2. Those who, having conducted themfelves with prudence, might be retained; using the precaution however of chang-

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ing their residence, which would be an advantage to them, as they would obtain more important missions in virtue of their seniority;

3. Those in whose welfare his majesty took particular interest; and he promised to retain these, provided they were not at the first rate courts, and did not appertain to the first class.

The king allowed all these propositions to be reasonable, and was well pleased with his attention to him; he did not except to the general reform, which was slow, and directed with prudence, in any other instances than those of Mr. de Dursort, minister at Venice, and Mr. de Chalons, the ambassador in Portugal.

The minister deemed it his duty to make a very moderate use of the great latitude allowed him by the king, in respect to these nominations. He commenced the system pointed out in his diplomatic memorial, by being sparing of the title of ambassador, and replacing all such as often as possible, by means of ministers plenipotentiary, Existing circumstances were favourable to this system.

He

He also wished to diminish the number of little appointments, which were unattended with any useful object, such as those of Liege, Dantzick, the petty princes of Germany, &c. He was not willing to keep ambaffadors any where but at Vienna, London, the family courts*, Venice, Switzerland, and the Porte. Every where elfe, he thought ministers plenipotentiary were fufficient. As to the little courts, he united them to the great embassies, and left the business to be transacted there by chargés d'affaires, under the title of fecretaries of legation. The discredit into which France had fallen, and the difficulty of finding proper persons, still more confirmed him in this plan. These inferior, and, as they may be termed, ambulatory appointments, were fo many primary schools for the diplomatic agents, who might form themselves there with more simplicity, and less pretensions.

In conformity to this idea, the following promotions were fanctioned by the king:

^{*} These were Madrid, Turin, and Naples .- Trans.

De Maulde was nominated minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the room of Gouvernet, fon of La Tour du Pin, formerly minister at war. Barthelemi, an old negotiator, who refided at London as chargé d'affaires, was appointed ambassadour in Switzerland, in the place of the marquis de Verac: and Verninac, minister in Sweden. Vibraye, minister plenipotentiary at Dresden, was fent in the same quality into Denmark, in the room of the baron de la Houze, become incapacitated for public business by an The fon of general Montesquiou apoplexy. replaced Vibraye at Dresden. Macault, son to the lady of the same name, who had been sub-governess to the king and his brothers, left Stutgard, and was appointed ambassadour at Naples; he was succeeded at Stutgard by Maissonneuve, brother-in-law of Mr. de la Tour-Maubourg. Caillard, an old negotiator, became minister plenipotentiary at Ratisbonne, and Dassigne at Munich; he had been appointed by Lessart. Châteauneuf replaced Castelnau, who was the avowed agent of the princes, at Geneva. Villars

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went

went to Mayence, and de Pons was fent to refide at Cologne, in the place of Maulevrier.

As it had been long fince agreed that Talleyrand, formerly bishop of Autun, who possessed great talents, should negotiate in England; and as there was some difficulty in assigning to him a public character, on account of the decree excluding members of the constituent assembly, the minister sent him thither under the shadow of young Chauvelin, the son of his old friend and general, to whom he had assured a place, after the expiration of the two years limited by the decree, at the end of which term Talleyrand was to appear in the character of ambassadour.

This promotion was fage. The greater number of those now appointed were selected from among such as had been long employed in public affairs. They were all known to the king; there was only one Jacobin, and he was a man of talents, sagacity, and prudence. Dumouriez also selected out of the list a great number of candidates to act as secretaries to the embassies; their placeswere but of little consequence, as they were removeable at pleasure.

He himself drew up instructions for each of these ministers, so that their system of negotiation might be uniform, and that they might avoid all puerile and diplomatic intrigues. He suffered the other ministers to remain, that he might have an opportunity of trying them, before he came to a sinal determination on their account.

His life, during the three months he was in administration, was the most unhappy and laborious that it is possible for any one to conceive. He entered his closet at five o'clock in the morning; and at six Bonne-Carrere came to transact business with him. At eleven o'clock commenced those audiences which made him lose so much time. At four he sat down to table. At half an hour after five he returned to his office, whence he retired at midnight to supper, and went to bed at one o'clock in the morning.

The days when he attended council, or when his presence became necessary at the assembly, or the diplomatic committee, only produced produced a more embarrassing variety. Add to this the intrigues, the injuries, the pamphlets, the calumnies, the very insults to which he was exposed during this period, and then, ambitious men, say, whether ye dare to desire to become the minister of a people in a state of revolution, and a prey to cabals, dashing against each other like the waves of a sea, agitated by a violent tempest!

The king began feemingly to place confidence in him, and was pleased at the frankness with which he informed him of every thing that occurred; of which, however, he himself was but too well informed, for the greater part of the domestics of this unhappy prince were at the same time his enemies and his spies. It was at this period that he one day said to general Montesquiou, "I was told that Dumouriez had but an indifferent head; he, however, always gives me good advice." Would to God that he had but followed his counsels!

The king mentioned to him one day, that the queen wished to have a private conference with him. He was very much vexed

at this information, as it was an unnecessary ftep, and one that might be fubject to a wrong interpretation from all parties. It was necessary, however, to obey; and he was ordered to wait on her majesty an hour before the council met. He took the precaution to infringe half an hour on this dangerous appointment, fo that it might be of as fhort duration as possible. He had been presented to this princess on the day of his nomination, and she had addressed him in a very indeterminate and fhort discourse, in which she pressed him to serve the king with fidelity; he had replied in a respectful and vague manner, and had never feen her fince.

On being introduced into the queen's chamber, he found her alone, very much flushed, walking backwards and forwards with hasty steps, and with an agitation that presaged a very violent explanation. He went and posted himself at the corner of the fire-place, much grieved at the unfortunate lot of this princes, and the terrible sensations she experienced. She at length advanced towards him with an irritated and majestic air,

and spoke as follows: "Sir, you are allpowerful at this moment, but it is through
the favour of the people, who soon demolish
their idols. Your situation depends upon
your conduct. It is said that you possess
great talents. You ought to know, that
neither the king, nor myself, will suffer either
these novelties, or the constitution. I declare
it frankly to you; you are therefore to choose
the part you are to act."

He replied as follows: " I am shocked at the painful confidence which your majesty has chosen to honour me with. I will not betray it: but I am placed between the king and the nation, and I appertain to my country. Permit me to represent to you, that his majesty's safety, your own, and that of your august children, are connected with the constitution, as also the re-establishment of his legitimate authority. I should treat you and him unjustly, if I spoke to you in a different manner. Both of you are furrounded by enemies, who facrifice you to their own private interests. If once the constitution is in vigour, far from occasioning unhappiness to the king, it will prove his felicity and joy; it is necessary, therefore, that he should concur in establishing it solidly and quickly."

The unfortunate queen, shocked at hearing her prejudices thus opposed, rejoined in a more passionate and louder tone of voice: "It will not last; therefore take care of yourself!"

Dumouriez then addressed her again with a modest firmness: "Madam, I am more than sifty years old; my life has been full of perils; and, on entering into administration, I reslected that responsibility was not the greatest of my dangers."

Alas!" exclaims she, in a melancholy tone of voice, "how much am I calumniated..... You seem to think me capable of causing you to be assassinated!" And on saying this, the tears ran down her cheeks.

Agitated as much as herself, "God forbid!" cried he, "that I should commit such a cruel injury. The character of your majesty is grand and noble; you have given heroic proofs of it, and these have insured my admiration and attachment."

On this she became instantly calm, approached towards him, and supported herfelf on his arm. He then continued: " Believe me, madam, when I fay that I have no interest in deceiving you, for I abhor anarchy and crimes as much as yourfelf. Confide in me, for I possess experience. I am also better fituated than your majesty to judge of events. This is not a momentary popular commotion, as you feem to believe. It is the almost unanimous insurrection of a mighty nation against inveterate abuses. Numerous and great factions fan the fire; and all of them abound with idiots and ruffians. I fee nothing in the revolution but the king and the whole nation; whatever tends to feparate them, contributes to their mutual ruin; I shall labour as much as posfible to re-unite them, and I crave your affistance. If I am an obstacle to your defigns, and if you perfift in them, tell me; I shall instantly deliver in my resignation to the king, and retire in order to lament in a corner the fate of my country, and your own."

The concluding part of this conversation produced an entire confidence on the part of the queen. They then conversed about the different factions; he pointed out the errours and the crimes of all of them, and he proved to her, that she herself was betrayed by those who surrounded her. He quoted words uttered under the seal of the most inviolable confidence, and this princess seemed to be entirely convinced.

He was at length obliged to point to the clock, and show that the hour for attending the council-board had elapsed, on which she dismissed him with a serene and affable countenance. She was then well disposed; but her considents, and the horrible excesses engendered by Marat's papers and the Jacobins, soon replunged her into her former fatal resolutions.

At another time she said to him in the presence of the king, "You behold me quite disconsolate; I dare no longer approach the windows that look into the garden. Yesterday evening I appeared at that opposite the court, on purpose to breathe a little fresh air. A cannoneer of the national guard seized

feized that opportunity to overwhelm me with the groffest infults, adding, by way of conclusion, "What pleasure would it give me to have your head stuck on the point of my bayonet!"

"In this frightful garden you behold in one place a man mounted on a chair, and reading the most horrible calumnies against us in a loud tone of voice; in another, you perceive an officer, or an abbé, dragged towards a bason of water, and overwhelmed with injuries and blows; and, during all this, some play at soot-ball, or walk about without the least concern. What a habitation! What a people!" She had but too much reason to say so.

Dumouriez was in a state of consternation, and sighs were the only answer he could make. But he always concluded by recommending the most cordial union with the national assembly, because every other resource was annihilated, for he had always considered a counter-revolution as impossible. It might indeed have succeeded if the princes had not emigrated, or if they had returned; if the nobility had every where resumed their

posts;

posts; and if all this had been accompanied by a well-conducted plan. But still, what dangers!.....

He never ceased to entertain the most melancholy reflections, after the alarming confidence the queen had bestowed upon him. Seeing her but feldom in the king's apartment, when any important bufiness brought him thither in the morning, he was more vigilant than ever relative to the proceedings of the court. All the late body-guards had gone to join the princes; and he learned that her majesty had caused money to be given to fome of them. He advised Laporte and the king to observe greater secrecy in their proceedings, and above all things to beware not to allow it to be discovered by any indiscretion on their part, or that of their agents, that they countenanced this emigration. They observed to him in return, that the money advanced was merely in payment of former fervices, and that those who received it had not declared their intentions to emigrate.

A new constitutional guard had been Vol. II. P formed

formed for the king, most of the officers of which had quitted their respective regiments because they would not subscribe the oath; it was composed of one third of troops of the line, and of two thirds of national guards, chosen by the departments from among the handsomest, most respectable, and best educated citizens. The officers had easily gained over the old troops of the line, whom, indeed, they themselves had selected; but as they were unable to seduce the young citizens appointed by the departments, they first maltreated, and afterwards obliged them to resign.

Under pretence of supplying the vacancies occasioned by these means, they enlisted all the cut-throats of Paris, and all the gamblers and swindlers, with which that city abounds. They opened houses of rendezvous for their recruits, and thus, instead of being composed in a constitutional manner, and consisting of eighteen hundred men, it amounted to near six thousand assassins. Among this number were some false brethren, who being seduced with the lure of a few assignats, became

fpies upon their leaders, and rendered an account of all their operations to the committee of public fafety.

Dumouriez, who was well informed of this, had often mentioned it to the king, who always replied: "Ah my God! if they fuspect the duke de Brissac to be the leader of a dangerous conspiracy, they are much in the wrong."

In the mean time the new body guards always assumed a menacing air, when they beheld the ministers and the commissioners of the assembly pass through the castle on purpose to present decrees to the king for his signature. They formed an intimacy with two or three battalions of national guards that did duty along with them; but they treated the others with scorn. They renewed the frivolous ceremonies of the old court on purpose to quarrel with, and mortify them, relative to the mode of service. In short, things were carried to such a height, that suspicions were everywhere engendered.

The clubs and the municipality at length interfered. The national affembly became alarmed. It was faid, that at the barracks

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of the body guards, formerly the military school, there was a white flag concealed, and it was added, that it had been presented to them by the king. The people of the suburbs in that neighbourhood affembled, the municipal officers put themselves at their head, and demanded to enter; this was at first refused, and the officers made preparations to defend themselves, but according to custom, they were abandoned by their men; they fearched every where, and only found a very small white flag, which was faid to have covered a cake given to or by the dauphin. They however discovered a number of fongs and hymns in favour of the king, and against the national affembly, and also a quantity of newspapers composed in the same strain.

It was then that the assembly took a closer inspection, not only into the conduct, but also the composition of this corps; it caused a regular report to be made, proving that its formation was unconstitutional, and it passed a decree enjoining the king to disband it; at the same time orders were issued for the arrest of the duke de Brissac.

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The king wished to resist the decree; but the council prevailed upon him not to expose himself to danger, for a corps of which he knew so little. They reminded him of the terrible catastrophe of the 5th and 6th of October 1789. Dumouriez could not refrain from expressing his astonishment, that he should display more warmth and interest in behalf of a new raised body, than of his old guards, who were far superiour. At length the king yielded, and this corps was cashiered.

It was infifted that his majesty should create a new body guard, and select more prudent officers. This proposition was not acquiesced in, and he was much in the wrong, not only on his own account, whatever might be his projects, but because this circumstance gave occasion for new suspicions, on account of the insidious caresses lavished by the court on the battalion des Filles de St. Thomas, composed of bankers residing in the street Vivienne, and other opulent inhabitants, who were afterwards facrificed on the 10th of August.

It was at this epoch that the ministry
P 3 earnestly

earnestly insisted, that the king should prevail on his brothers to return to France. Louis entered into this scheme without hesitation, and accordingly employed the chevalier de Coigny on the mission. He pressed them, in a letter written with his own hand, to repair to him. This plan proved however abortive; they insisted on remaining in the electorate of Treves, in order to arm, as they said, for his deliverance.

Their obstinacy formed one of the principal causes of the declaration of war, which might have been avoided had they returned. Their presence might perhaps have changed the face of affairs. There would be some danger, but it was their duty to expose themselves to it, that they might not augment by their refusal that of the prince, who was suspected of conniving at their proceedings, and who added strength to this suspicion, by his previous slight, and his dubious conduct after his return.

Another cause of jealousy in respect to Louis XVI was the inexcusable multiplication of knights of St. Louis. It seemed as if this honorary distinction had been converted,

verted, ever fince his residence in Paris, into a mere fymbol of conspiracy. Such an abuse had so disgraced this military order. formerly fo respectable, that if by some improbable occurrence, the old government had been established anew, or if a constitutional king had been authorised by the nation to confer this decoration on its warriors, it would have been abfolutely necesfary either to have regenerated it, or to have substituted another order in its place. on account of the impossibility of fuffering it to remain on its present footing; for the cross of St. Louis was no longer held in any degree of estimation by the public. It is certain that more than fix thousand had been given away during the last two years, and out of this enormous number, not one fixth had been procured by defert.

At this time but too much real ground of complaint was given to the Swiss cantons. The regiment of Chateauvieux had revolted at Nancy. Forty-two soldiers had been tried according to the laws of their nation, condemned to the gallies, and transferred to Brest. Partly from hatred to ge-

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neral

neral Bouillé, who was the contriver of the king's flight, and who had formerly chastised the rebels of Nancy, and partly out of opposition to Lafayette, who had very properly supported Bouillé in this latter affair, the Jacobins began to consider the inhabitants of Nancy as the victims of despotism; they also resolved to deliver the Swiss galley-slaves.

In this case, it would have been proper to have sent them to their respective cantons, that they might be dealt with according to their pleasure. To liberate men who had been condemned to suffer punishment, was to insult the cantons, and to attack their capitulary rights, by which they were allowed to decide on the sate of the culprits appertaining to their own body. We had already a sufficient number of enemies on our hands, without quarrelling with an ally that conducted herself sagely in respect to us, and more especially with a free and republican nation.

The minister represented all the dangers of such an inexcusable proceeding to the diplomatic committee, but neither it, nor the the national affembly would interfere. He then addressed himself to Collot-d'Herbois. a comedian and furious Jacobin, whom he endeavoured to gain by the prospect of a place. This player had taken it into his head to imagine that he ought to be appointed to the home department, and he had on this account retained a grudge against the minister for foreign affairs. Instead of complying with his just folicitations, he redoubled his enthusiasm: the Jacobins of Paris accordingly conducted the galley flaves of Chateauvieux from Brest, paraded them through the metropolis in a triumphant car, presented them to the assembly, and forced it to fanction the scandalous injury which was thus committed nationally against a nation allied to us.

Another circumstance, that happened to occur at this period, aggravated the wrongs of France against the canton of Berne; this was an occurrence relative to the regiment of Ernest, which was disarmed, and sent out of Aix, a little indeed through its own fault, but much more on account of the bad conduct of general Barbantane. These two

events

events greatly embarassed Degraves and Dumouriez, who prevailed on the king to permit them to make use of his name to repair the wrongs of the nation, in which they succeeded. The minister of foreign affairs caused the red riband to be bestowed on Mr. de Vatteville, major of this regiment, and he was afterwards appointed colonel, on the resignation of Mr. Ernst, who was also presented with a similar decoration.

On this occasion Degraves told Dumouriez, that if he himself were desirous of the red riband, he would propose it at the same time. He befought his colleague to proceed no further in this matter, but Dumouriez took an opportunity to mention it to the king, who faid that he would most readily confer it on him. He replied as follows: "Sire, your majesty would in this case injure yourself, and I should be considered as fold to you. I have ferved you during thirty-fix years, I have been a knight of St. Louis thirty, I am covered with wounds, and I have made ten campaigns. It is not until after the constitution shall have been firmly established, and your majesty rendered

dered happy, that I can accept the favours you may please to confer on me, without any solicitation however on my part." He then caused the vacant riband to be conferred upon an old lieutenant-general called Verdières.

At this period the fix ministers lived together on friendly terms. They had agreed to dine with each other by turns, during the three days in every week when the council assembled, and to admit no other company. Each produced his dispatches, they talked over the business about to be submitted to the king, and they discussed every article minutely, to prevent any disputes before him, and also to form one common opinion. This continued during nearly a month, at the end of which time, Roland wished that his wife and his friends might be admitted at his table.

Lacoste and Dumouriez, on this, after having vainly opposed such a ridiculous innovation, resolved no longer to carry their papers to these dinners. This was a contrivance invented by the Girondists, on purpose to intermeddle with public affairs, and

to regulate the government. They were very angry with these two ministers. It was then that Dumouriez told Gensonné, that his brethren began to be too ambitious a faction, and that the petulance of Guadet, the levity of Brissot, and the malignity of Condorcet, would prove their ruin. Gensonné remained with this party, on purpose to endeavour to conduct its operations with more propriety. Vergniaud often quarrelled with it. Guadet and he were rivals in oratory. It was pride, rather than patriotism, that actuated their public conduct.

There was an affair which the king had much at heart, and yet he had never been able to prevail upon himself to disclose it to Dumouriez. During the last eight or ten days, the latter perceived that this prince concealed something from him, and yet seemed ready to make the disclosure whenever they were in private together. This was the nomination of a governor for the dauphin. His majesty wished to confer this place on Fleurieu, a man of merit, a member of the academy of sciences, and a captain in the sea service; he had been during

during a very short period at the head of the marine department. The king spoke to his considents on this subject, who instantly converted it into a matter of traffic, and promised that his choice should be acceded to, provided he sacrificed two millions of livres; his majesty, listening to nothing but the violence of his own desires, and those of the queen, had unfortunately consented.

The minister on hearing of this, instantly waited upon him. He told him that he was deceived by his confidents, who were no better than rogues; that this was not a proper time to introduce such a proposition, because Condorcet at that very moment was busied about the plan of a decree relative to the education of the prince royal, and that the assembly, perceiving that his demand was made only to elude and anticipate this decree, would remain obstinate, and hurt his feelings by a direct resusal.

"If you wish to succeed, do not precipitate any thing. Allow me but time to prepare the Gironde, and through it the Jacobins. You may be certain of the right side of the assembly without paying it, which

is a fraud that will never prosper. A war is about to take place, and all the citizens are presenting patriotic donations. Offer your two millions, since you are determined to sacrifice them, and perhaps we shall succeed." The king did not make any reply.

Unhappily his word was pledged, and they had promised him the most complete success. They even gave him to understand that he was deceived by his minister.

On the very next morning, at an early hour, all the members of the administration received a message desiring them to repair to the king at ten o'clock, which was a very unusual time. On their arrival they were conducted from the council chamber to the king's apartment, where they found him and the queen, the latter of whom addressed them as follows:

"The king has affembled you relative to an affair in which I am deeply interested. We cannot be refused a privilege permitted to the lowest citizens, that of appointing preceptors for their own children. We have therefore nominated Mr. de Fleurieu; an account of this nomination must be instantly communicated to the assembly."

The king then took out of his pocket a letter to the president announcing the appointment, and presented it to Mr. Duranton, the minister of justice. Dumouriez was silent. Another member wished to make some observations, but Louis shut his mouth by saying: "Go all together; such are my orders."

They accordingly repaired in a body to the affembly. A categorical answer was at this time expected from the court of Vienna. Every body prepared to hear the minister for foreign affairs. Duranton rose, and read the letter from the king, but he was instantly interrupted by violent hootings.

The president then took the letter, examined, and re-delivered it, observing at the same time, that it was not counter-signed. It was prescribed by an express decree that every letter from the king to the assembly ought to be counter-signed by a minister, so that some one should be responsible for its contents. None of the six members of the cabinet had recollected this circum-

stance.

stance. The scheme was accordingly baffled, and if the king did not lose the whole of his two millions, it at least cost him great part of that sum. This affair proves how much the unfortunate Louis was deceived, even by the very persons who apparently evinced the greatest personal attachment to him, and who yet devoured his civil list.

All these domestic occurrences took place at different epochs, as well as many others, which Dumouriez passes over in silence, that he may arrive at the greatest event that occurred during his administration, indeed an event in which all Europe is interested, namely the declaration of war.

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ALL the powers of Europe began now to confider France, in confequence of its revolution, as reduced to a state of absolute nullity, and actually imagined that fo far from advancing towards any useful point, and procuring a necessary reform, it was running fast into the most deplorable anarchy, because the two powers, instead of uniting together, became daily more divided. All the furrounding nations were however more or less interested in the immediate cessation of these troubles, but they were led astray because they viewed these events through a false medium, and consequently adopted an erroneous fystem of politics. The complaints of the French fugitives also tended Vol. II. not not a little to inspire those courts which gave them protection with unjust ideas.

They depicted the national affembly as a faction rather audacious than powerful; they afferted their own to be the stronger party; affirmed that the troops of the line were still attached to them, and that in addition to this the army was greatly weakened by the recent emigration, which had bereaved it of all its officers; that the national guards were nothing more than an affemblage of timid shopkeepers, incapable of looking a foldier in the face; that the provinces only waited their return, to destroy the constitution, and restore the government to which they had been attached for upwards of fourteen centuries; and that this fo much vaunted constitution was impracticable in itself, as it was not congenial to the genius of a nation accustomed to adore its kings. They adduced their own conduct as an example of this devotion to the monarchy, and yet they abandoned it to those very factious men whose names they were accustomed to mention only with scorn.

All the governments of Europe gave a certain degree of credit to these exaggerations. The more distant evinced an indifference that discovered but little fore-sight; the neighbouring ones, on the contrary, cherished the expectation of being able to repay themselves by dismemberments, for the active part they intended to take.

The example of the partition of Poland had converted this mode of profiting by the internal troubles of furrounding nations into a regular political fystem. Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and even Louis XV, had annexed Roussillon, la Bresse, the country of Gex, Alsace, Franche-Comtè, Flanders, and Lorraine, to France. The partition system having effectually succeeded in Poland, it was expected, that by exciting civil wars in France, the same effects might be produced there.

Spain, Italy, and Germany, would then have an opportunity of reclaiming those territories formerly dismembered from their pos-sessions. England also, while France was

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thus parcelled out, might be able to feize on her colonies, which would operate as a very profitable revenge for the American war.

On the other hand, the French nation, always fond of extremes, treated as tyrants and as enemies all those governments that disapproved even of the excesses of the revolution; and more especially such as seemed to menace it, not only by offering an afylum to a fugitive faction, which in itself would not have been reprehensible, (for atrocious actions apart, every state ought to afford a refuge to the unhappy) but by openly taking part with it; by encouraging the levying of armed bodies of men under French enfigns and denominations, and with the avowed intention of producing a civil war; by bestowing on the princes, not simple pensions for their maintenance, but actual subsidies for the payment of their troops; by refusing to treat with the ministers of France, although they negotiated in the king's name; by fecretly recognifing the plenipotentiaries of the emigrated princes; and by appearing to behold in the persons of those princes the true government, and the sole representation of the French monarchy.

Of all these different European governments the republican ones were the wisest, but they were also the most indifferent, and with them the ancient mode of negotiation subsisted nearly on the same footing as formerly.

- 1°. In respect to Venice. The minister had agreed with Mr. Pisani, a man of merit, who was ambassadour from this republic, not to make any alteration in the diplomatic representation, and not to let the king nominate a new ambassadour, unless he should be forced to it; in that case the appointment was not to take place until after a notification, and the consent of the senate had been obtained.
- 2°. At Genoa refided Semonville, appointed by Montmorin, and who, either right or wrong, was become the terrour of all Italy.
- 3°. The ministry permitted the chevalier de Ternant, a prudent man, who had been nominated by means of Lafayette's in-

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fluence, to remain with the United States of

4°. In respect to Switzerland, which by the prudence of Berne, Zurich, and Appenzell, and by the energy of colonel de Neiss, had resisted the impetuosity of two or three cantons, and the influence of count d'Artois; whose presence had not been able to produce a declaration, although the French had committed a sufficient number of errours and injuries to interrupt the good harmony subsisting between these two allied nations; and although the accession of Porentruy might have been considered as an attack on the Helvetic body. But the prudential foresight of the Swiss induced them to the maintenance of moderate principles.

On the other hand, the monarchical governments cherished hostile impressions, and only sought for an opportunity to unite, to annihilate the French revolution.

1°. The Pope foresaw the diminution of his power, and his revenue. He had already lost Avignon, which was become the theatre of the most atrocious crimes, and these

were only the precursors of still greater ones. This country, formerly usurped from Provence by means of pious frauds, and possessed in consequence of redeemable engagements, might have been legally reannexed to France, provided she had faithfully reimbursed the Pope, according to a fair valuation. There is even reason to believe, that he would have signed the treaty, which Dumouriez, actuated by a spirit of justice, and the honour of the nation, wished to bring to a conclusion.

The pope, incapable of supporting by force of arms this little territory, embraced on all sides by the dominions of France, would have at length ceded it, on receiving a stipulated price. But a still greater interest rendered him irreconcileable; this was the retrenchment of his spiritual authority in France; in consequence of which the samous concordate of Leo X would have been annihilated, and he himself deprived of immense revenues. Yet even all this would not have put a stop to the negotiation, and the pope would at length have found himself obliged to sacrifice this illegitimate source

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of riches, for which his predecessors were indebted to the policy of Leo X, and the folly of Francis I. But the national assembly ruined all, in consequence of the grossly imprudent act of alienating the clergy by tendering an absurd oath.

2°. The order of Malta could not any longer subsist in France, in direct opposition to the fystem of equality established in confequence of the abolition of all titles. Nothing would have been more inconsistent with the constitution, than the conservation of benefices invested with feudal claims. and fcattered throughout all the provinces of France; this too in favour of Frenchmen who remained at once monks and nobles, and who were under subjection to a foreign prince, for the express purpose of carrying on an eternal war against the Turks our allies, from the mere spirit of religious intolerance. The minister however had put this very difficult affair into a train of negotiation.

This, as well as every other species of property belonging to the clergy, had been declared national by an express decree; but Du-

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mouriez was anxious to find a pretext for indemnifying the present possessor, whom he considered as having a claim to the usufruct alone. It is also to be observed, that a foreign order composed of French citizens could not any longer be suffered in France. Thus the order of Malta was abolished both in law and in fact, by the political reform that had taken place, as was heretofore the case in England, and every other country that had adopted the reformed religion.

longing to the house of Bourbon, were too feeble to be dangerous. But they exhibited a decided and a very natural aversion to the French revolution, because they supposed it likely to be attended with the diminution of their own grandeur: although this was a false idea; for the constitution, on the contrary, would have fixed on a sage and unshaken basis the true power and glory of the elder branch of their family, which then reigned in France. Their absurd politics multiplied those very dangers, which they hoped to remedy by means of little impotent conspiracies.

Parma,

Parma, living almost intirely on the favours derived from the king of France, depended in some measure on the minister for foreign affairs, who found means to render it interested in maintaining a prudent conduct by continuing the payment of its pensions. Naples dreading, and that too with some reason, the introduction of jacobinical principles among a people truly sansculottes, and famous on account of their frequent revolts, persecuted the French; and this would have engendered disputes, of which that court would have been the dupe after the establishment of the constitution.

4°. Tuscany thought in the same manner as the court of Vienna, but felt itself too weak to exhibit any external signs of disapprobation.

5°. The king of Sardinia, besieged by the French princes, and the numerous emigrants who crowded his territories, and terrified also for his transalpine states, discovered an equivocal, but in fact a really hostile disposition, which soon after, and that too on a trisling occasion, engaged him in a very dangerous war. This, notwithstanding the inessicient

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inefficient subsidy afforded by England, will prove ruinous, even supposing that he should ever reobtain the possession of Savoy, a circumstance which becomes daily more doubtful.

6°. Spain and Portugal, endeavouring, with good reason, to prevent the introduction of the revolutionary system into their territories, persecuted and banished all the French, obliging those whom a long residence had almost rendered indigenous, to subscribe useless oaths, which only served to whet their curiosity and inclination in repect to the new opinions.

However, as the count d'Aranda had become prime minister of the former kingdom,
Dumouriez determined to address himself
to him, in order to ensure at least the neutrality of that country. The court of Madrid during the preceding year being on the
point of entering into a war with England,
in consequence of a quarrel about the settlement of Nootka sound, in the northern
extremity of the Pacific Ocean, the constituent assembly, faithful to the alliance between the nations, had decreed the arma-

ment of forty-five fail of the line for the fupport of Spain. The family compact could no longer fubfift because France was no longer the property of the king, but, on the contrary, the king by the new conftitution appertained to the nation. Dumouriez regarded this distinction as a mere dispute about words, which they had not then time to discuss, and which might be very easily settled after the establishment of the constitution. What most concerned him was to procure the neutrality of that court. As to its affiftance, there was no manner of occasion for it; and he had already affured himself of this neutrality by a frank and personal negotiation with the count d'Aranda. This wife minister was immediately sacrificed when that court changed its system.

8°. It was the interest of England to remain neuter; and, notwithstanding the extreme repugnance of the King to the French nation, the court of St. James's conducted itself with sagacity. The minister for foreign affairs always treated the ambassador, lord Gower, with the utmost candour; they in conjunction settled some trisling subjects

fubjects of dissension, and it needed all the imprudence of Brissot, all the petulance of the national convention, and the equally atrocious and impolitic crime of the murder of Louis XVI, to force Great Britain in 1793 to depart from its system of neutrality, and to plunge itself into an expensive contest, which may afford a momentary advantage in the East and West Indies; but these will be balanced by great losses and enormous subsidies, without any surety of retaining the conquests.

9°. It was the interests of republican Holland to remain at peace, but that of the Stadtholder to stifle French liberty in its cradle, lest it should some day afford support to the Dutch patriots. This interest is still badly understood, for either that country is governed according to its constitution, and then its representative has nothing to fear; or two extensive powers have been usurped, and if so the people will constantly murmur, and at last re-enter into the possession of their rights. The court of the Hague ought still more to distrust the court of France governing arbitrarily and without a constitution.

a constitution, than a constitutional king, all of whose movements are regulated by the interest of the nation.

Was it not on the point or being the victim of the firebrand Brienne, who first excited. and afterwards perfidiously abandoned the patriots? This court, then, ought to have preserved a strict neutrality; but it did not do fo. De Maulde received very prudent instructions, and this too without the remotest idea of duplicity. There could no longer be any chicane in French politics, as nothing was concealed; it ought therefore neither to have judged in the present instance according to the intrigues of the old French court, or the pamphlets of the jacobins, and it is precifely because they did not adopt a just mean between these two extremes, that all the cabinets of Europe have erred.

noo. Denmark ought to be held up as a model of the conduct, which should have been adopted in respect to the French. Observing a sagacious neutrality, it kept up its usual connections with the nation, without interfering in its internal disputes. It

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was too far diftant for its mediation between the king and the people to prove useful; it belonged to the governments in the immediate neighbourhood of France to act a conciliatory part. This was the fole just and useful character that they could have adopted; and it was also necessary, for their own proper and immediate tranquillity, that they should have endeavoured to arrest the excesses of the revolution; but to accomplish this, it would have been indifpenfable not to have openly protected the princes, and encouraged their disobedience, their arming, and their fury; not to have difowned the legal affembly of a great nation; and not to have confidered all France as jacobins, and the king as a prisoner; for at that moment he was only checked in the false career, to which he was infligated by a perverse court. It was the conduct of this very court and of the princes; it was the abfurd politics of the neighbouring powers, which produced a foreign war, and the miseries of France, and which have rendered this revolution criminal, and replete with excesses of all kinds. Dumor and or beind

exactly opposite to that of Denmark. Gustavus was under obligations to Louis XV, from whom he had received advice and a decided protection during a revolution directly opposite to the present. He foresaw that regenerated France, no longer embarrassed with the political system, which had agitated its ambitious kings and their intriguing courtiers, would not cherish any other than general, commercial, and pacific connections with the rest of the European republics, and would thus ease itself from the substitutes, which it paid to the substitute powers: he himself was of this number.

Gustavus dreaded at the same time, lest the example of the French should rouse the Swedes from their slumber. He accordingly openly espoused the counter-revolution. The emigrants loudly boasted of their great influence over him, and he was to return, they said, at their head, and re-establish the king of France upon the throne.

His tragical death was immediately attributed to the jacobins. Dumouriez has not been been able to discover a fingle trace, among all the papers relative to this horrible event, which could give the least colouring to such an accusation. He well knows that more activity has been attributed to this society in foreign countries, than it ever possessed, and it is perhaps this very supposition that has doubled the power of this sect.

12°. Ruffia discovered the most violent antipathy toward the French nation, perhaps the better to conceal her profound policy. This power must assuredly profit by encouraging the armies of Pruffia and Austria to undertake a distant expedition, and by allowing them to exhauft themselves against the fortified towns, with which France is every where furrounded. The fecond partition of Poland has already developed part of her intentions, and in a short time, perhaps, the remainder of her plan will be carried into effect against the unfortunate Turks, who ever fince the beginning of 1794 have beheld themselves menaced by this ambitious power, which, under VOL. II. pretext

pretext of attacking the fouthern provinces of France, is covering the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Archipelago, with her numerous vessels.

13°. Turkey for a long time past may be considered as being in a state of insignificance, at least so far as concerns the grand political concerns of France, but it was necessary to use the utmost precaution relative to her commercial interests; and this is what induced the minister to permit Mr. de Choiseul-Goussier, a man of great merit, to continue as ambassador at Constantinople, and who, although decidedly counter-revolutionary, yet in this point of view conducted the affairs of France with great propriety.

It was not until subsequently to the declaration of war against Austria, that he deemed it proper to appoint another, on purpose to obtain a military diversion on the part of the Turks against that power, should an occasion present itself; and a circumstance intirely unconnected with this plan induced him to nominate Semonville, which choice happened to be confirmed by his fuccessor; this produced his illegal arrest on neutral ground, and long impriforment.

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14°. The Germans were most of all interested in the prompt termination of the troubles produced by the French revolution, before they extended themselves abroad. Dumouriez perceived three distinct interests: that of the Germanic body properly so called, or of the empire; that of the king of Prussia; and that of the house of Austria. These interests, when well understood, ought either to have engaged them to have adopted a perfect neutrality, or a conciliatory mediation. Ill understood, they would necessarily and quickly involve them in a war.

The Germanic body had been injured in the persons of such of its members as possessed property in Alsace, by the constitutional decrees, because such property was necessarily discharged from feudal claims, and from every species of servitude. But this was a mere juridical discussion, which did not interest the whole of the empire so much as to induce it to have recourse to arms; it would have been just to have purchased the right of sovereignty in some instances, and to have offered an indemnification for the productive claim of all these
properties; and this business, indeed, was
actually in a state of negotiation: some of
these petty sovereigns, such as the count de
Löwenstein-Wertheim, had already signed
treaties with the minister for foreign affairs,
who would have succeeded in satisfying them
all by merely following the exact rules of
justice, if the great powers had not made a
common cause of it, on purpose to embroil
the empire.

It would indeed have cost France a great deal of money, but the assembly had not yet become so unjust as to refuse to listen to a reasonable accommodation, which was the basis on which the minister had treated, and which great political, and important reasons, rendered highly acceptable to the Germanic body. A war with France could only tend to ruin the empire, which could not possibly gain any thing by such an event; on the contrary, if Prussia and Austria should succeed in re-establishing an arbitrary monarchy, they alone would profit

by the difmemberment, and every augmentation of their power would prove detrimental to the other states, and tend to the diminution of constitutional force.

Thus the Germanic body, properly fo called, was interested in the success of a reasonable constitution in France, and in the preservation of an exact neutrality. Every thing done since Dumouriez has quitted the administration, either on the part of France, or of the Germanic empire, has been in express opposition to the true interests of both.

engaged with Russia in a new partition of Poland, it would have seen in a very different point of view the revolution of a country too far distant to give any uneasiness, and consequently would not have intermeddled. Until the congress of Reichenbach its conduct had been hostile to the house of Austria; in concert with the Stadtholder it had somented the Belgick revolution; but the court of Vienna had at last found means to regain its friendship by well timed concessions.

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The king of Prussia imagined, that by affisting the house of Austria in putting a stop to the troubles in the Low Countries, and afterwards in quelling the insurrection in France, he himself would be left more at liberty to effect the second partition of Poland, and this would reimburse him for the expences of the war against France, which was supposed likely to be but of a very short duration.

This enterprise, too, was considered as far from difficult; and it might even prove very lucrative, for if the Prussian army had been able to march as far as Paris, the contributions exacted by it would have assuredly indemnissed him amply for all his expences, and Louis XVI would not have been replaced gratuitously on the throne. To these two interests, the one consisting of the augmentation of territory, the other of treasure, was added the rancour of this monarch on account of the gross insults lavished by the Jacobins, in all their newspapers, upon every foreign king, and this too with equal levity and imprudence.

The union of all these motives intirely changed

changed the ancient political fystem of the court of Berlin, and induced it to contract an unnatural alliance with the court of Vienna, which will not continue longer than during the present war with France. This cabinet always treated France with rigour, and appeared to favour the emigrants, without permitting itself however to be drawn into any great expence on their account: but it committed a grand mistake in felecting them for guides in its military operations.

Young Custine, who died a victim to his filial tenderness, and who, had he lived, would have been a greater man than his father, although replete with talents, yet was never able to make himself recognized as minister in Prussia, and the efforts made by him to communicate his instructions to the cabinet always proved ineffectual. In short there never was any negotiation whatever between the constitutional king of the French and the king of Prussia.

Dumouriez however kept fair with this court; he had not been yet able to settle such a well established correspondence abroad,

as to afford him the means of discovering that a fresh partition of Poland was meditated, in which case he could have easily divined the motives and resolutions of this cabinet. There was much talk of the feizure of Dantzick, but the court of Vienna could not obstruct this, and he did not look on it as a fufficient reason to induce the court of Berlin to change its fystem of rivality. He therefore considered its connection with the court of Vienna as an alteration in politics which could not long endure; in consequence of this, he resolved, that, whatever part the king of Prussia might choose to take, it would be prudent, even while repelling his attacks, not to consider him as an enemy; he accordingly, always separated his cause from that of Austria, on purpose to leave a door open for conciliatory negotiations, the moment it was discovered that the least coolness had taken place between fuch unnatural allies.

16°. As to the court of Vienna, it had declared itself so openly the enemy of the French revolution, and it granted such a decided protection and support to the emigrants,

grants, that it was not possible to persevere in a course of negotiations, which would have been equally dishonourable to the king and the nation, and had already served to ruin two ministers, to hurt the unfortunate Louis XVI, to produce a number of confpiracies, to increase the slame of discord, and to give a political consistency to the dangerous Jacobins, as this court had attacked them with an ill timed bitterness.

Dumouriez all Europe confiders as the author of this war; as the elector of Cologne has most unjustly asserted in a printed letter; because, finding himself in administration at the moment of an explosion prepared by intriguers, he was obliged to deliver in a report, which produced the hostile declaration in question. Dumouriez, on the contrary, aided by Messrs. de St. Foy and la Sonde, had been busied ever since the year 1791, in rooting out the germs of discord.

He had made use of his influence over one part of the diplomatic body, and also of his intimacy with Mr. de la Porte, to induce both the assembly and the king to adopt principles, principles, which would more than ever have united France and Austria against all the agitators, who encouraged dissensions both in France, and in the Low Countries.

This was the only mode left for renewing the confidence of the French in the court of Vienna, and enabling it to act the noble part of a conciliator; which was indeed strictly confonant both with its dignity and its true interests, as in case of success, it would have ensured a constitution to France, which would have fixed the alliance on an unalterable basis, and guarantied the tranquillity of the Low Countries.

The court of Vienna, indeed, appeared at one time to adopt fimilar ideas, for the count de Metternich * sent an agent to Paris, expressly for the purpose of negotiating on these principles.

On the entrance of Dumouriez into the administration, the same agent was continued, and the new minister always treated him with candour and good faith; but he

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^{*} Minister plenipotentiary from the emperor in the Austrian Low Countries, now termed Belgium.—

found an aftonishing difference between this indirect negotiation, and the direct one with the court of Vienna and the ambassadour from France. His predecessor had just been facrificed on account of the little dignity which he had discovered in his correspondence, which in addition to this was replete with timidity and chicanery, while that of the ministers of the emperor was harsh, severe, and haughty.

He communicated to the king the overtures made by Mr. de Metternich, and the dispatches of Mr. de Noailles. That prince was also struck with the discordancy between the manner in which the Austrian minister at Vienna, and the Austrian minister at Brussels, chose to negotiate. The catastrophe of Lessart not only affected the interests of Louis, and menaced his successor with the same fate, if he followed the same political line of conduct, but it kept the affembly on the watch, and made it extremely attentive left the honour and fafety of the nation should be again betrayed; and at this epoch, the court of Vienna had afforded fo many proofs of its ill-will, and was so lofty in its replies, that it might be already considered in the light of a declared enemy.

The emigrants, armed and regimented, were at this very moment quartered at Ath*, whence they had made a vain attempt to furprise the citadel of Valenciennes. A battalion of infantry had at the same time deserted from Dunkirk, and carried off the military chest and its colours. This corps received a hearty welcome in the Low Countries, and no part of the property it carried away was ever restored.

A congress was announced at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which the emigrants pretended the fate of France was to be decided. Not only did the court of Vienna throw every possible obstacle in the way of negotiations for granting an indemnisication to the German princes for their claims in Alsace, but it even threatened to get them annulled by the diet of the empire, and it excited the circles to make a common cause on this occasion, and thus depart from their neutrality.

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^{*} A town in the heretofore Austrian Hainault.-Tranf.

The nomination of the new ministers seemed to redouble its virulence. Ill informed, and equally deceived by the emigrants and the intriguers of Paris, relative to their characters, it considered the appointment of them as a triumph on the part of the Jacobin faction, against whom the prince de Kaunitz had just published a libel, which, so far from hurting, only served to render them more important.

The king appeared to regret Lessart. His fuccessor, on the day after his appointment, had gone to the Jacobin club, where he had been decorated with the red bonnet; from that moment he was considered as a furious Jacobin, with whom it would be highly improper to treat.

Notwithstanding this, as he was bent on the attainment of his object, and wished to bring the negotiation to that point of dignity and mutual respect, which belonged to two great powers, he thought fit to pursue a line of conduct exactly opposite to that which had been followed by Montmorin and Lessart; and accordingly, in a frank and candid dispatch, he exposed the true interests of each, in order to put a period to the passions and intrigues which had taken place. The dispatch was received with an ill grace, and Mr. de Noailles, who was a weak man and a Machiavelist. although he garbled this state paper, yet could not even then obtain an explanation.

Dumouriez ought instantly to have recalled the ambaffadour, who in addition to this was a counter-revolutionist. In consequence of a condescension which he deemed useful, but which did not tend to any good purpose, he allowed him to remain in place: he however dispatched a courier to him with orders to demand an explanation, and a categorical answer, which he was to transmit by the same messenger. He was afraid, lest the court of Vienna should take umbrage at his recalling Mr. de Noailles, and refuse to receive his successor: in this case a war would have been inevitable.

Could the answer of Mr. de Kaunitz be shown in any degree to the national affembly, in order to foften his last dispatch to the unfortunate Lessart, Dumouriez depended on being able to connect the negotiation at

Vienna

Vienna with that of the Low Countries, and thus succeed in pacifying every thing. But since the late change of the ministry in France, Mr. de Kaunitz no longer deigned to treat in his own person with the ambassadour, and had actually resigned this task to Mr. de Cobentzl. In short, the only answer was a letter from Mr. de Noailles, informing him, that considering the certainty of being unable to alter the resolution of the court of Vienna, he begged that he would procure the king's consent to his resignation.

This resolution, whether it proceeded from timidity or disinclination on the part of Mr. de Noailles, being adopted at a period when, conformably to his orders, he ought to have exhibited firmness and promptitude in his negotiations with the prince de Kaunitz, rendered a reconciliation impossible. For more than a month the assembly, and indeed the whole nation, was uneasy respecting the haughty and hostile conduct of the court of Vienna, and this circumstance assembly interest, on account of the repugnance which he had displayed at sacrificing Lessart, whom they considered a traitor,

traitor, from the fuccession of petty conspiracies in the capital, and the frequent departure of private couriers belonging to the Thuilleries, for Vienna and Coblentz.

Continual demands were made on the minister for foreign affairs relative to the progress of the negotiation: he was at length obliged to announce, that he had dispatched a courier who was to bring back a categorical answer, and put an end to the perplexity of a nation justly irritated at the contempt it experienced on the part of its ally.

The people, on one hand, attributed to the court of Vienna the more than equivocal and extremely imprudent conduct of the unfortunate queen; and, on the other, they accused her majesty of being the author of the haughty and hostile demeanour of the court of Vienna, and they in general believed in the existence of an Austrian committee, of which it was faid that Montmorin was the principal agent; and they fuspected him to be directed intirely by the Feuillans. There were not any proofs as to

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the reality of this committee, but the prefumptions were very strong.

At this epoch the Feuillans were openly reconciled to the court, and made a common cause with it against the national assembly, which, as well as the ministry, they affected to confound under the odious denomination of Jacobins.

Lafayette, the oftenfible leader of this faction, had the imprudent vanity to cause his person to be adorned with the red riband, and constantly appeared at that very court, which he himself had so recently incommoded. The Lameths, against whom Louis XVI had fuch just grounds of complaints, and who but fix months before were the most bitter enemies of Lafayette, happened at this moment to be the supporters and directors both of this general and the court. Every body imagined, that they discovered in this coalition of intriguers a plan of a counterrevolution, and being well perfuaded that the court of Vienna formed their principal support, the public waited with impatience to be informed of its ultimate refolutions.

Such was the disposition of men's minds Vol. II. S when when the long expected courier returned with the mean or perfidious refignation of Mr. de Noailles.

Dumouriez went instantly to the king, and informed him of the opinion of the nation, and his own danger; he at the same time told him, that it was impossible to hide from the assembly the resignation of Mr. de Noailles, the necessity of nominating another minister, and the unpromising state of the negotiation. The king allowed the justice of the observation.

On this the minister no longer concealed from him, that the whole weight of national resentment would fall upon his majesty and the queen; but he added, that, if he were really disposed to prove the rectitude of his intentions and the falsity of the existence of an Austrian committee, he ought now to act a part which would completely restore to him the considence of the people, and counteract all the intrigues not only of those who surrounded him, but also of the emigrants, who bewildered the court of Vienna in respect to its true interests: this was to write a letter with his own hand to

the emperor, and fend it by an ambaffadour extraordinary, who was to replace Mr. de Noailles.

The king adopted this advice with an appearance of the utmost considence, and even gratitude; he accordingly drew up a very argumentative letter, the whole of which was written with his own hand, and he approved of the choice of Emanuel de Maulde for this extraordinary mission.

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Dumouriez also prepared the instructions for this minister, and pointed out certain articles relative to which he was to demand a precise answer.

In case of a refusal, Louis XVI was sheltered from all reproach, should the peace be broken; and if not, this line of conduct would display on one hand his moderation, and on the other his dignity in sustaining the honour of his crown. This letter could not be suspected of being forced from him, since it was entirely voluntary on his part, and was wholly of his own composition; it demonstrated that he was free, and a king, notwithstanding the sassential affection of the emigrants; therefore it might possibly alter

the disposition of the court of Vienna, by proving the spontaneous agreement of Louis with the nation.

As foon as the minister was provided with this paper, he repaired to the assembly, where he read his dispatches to Mr. de Noailles, the feeble replies of that minister, his last orders, and the resignation of the ambassadour; the members were shocked, and precipitately launched a decree of accusation against the minister at Vienna.

Dumouriez afterwards gave an account of the part which the king had taken of his own proper motion, and then read the letter from this monarch to the emperor. This was much applauded, and all the honest men in the affembly were well pleased with Louis, who by means of five or six similar actions would have entirely regained their considence.

But all the trouble taken by the minister to recover the love and confidence of the nation, was rendered ineffectual by the activity of the intriguers. It was Penelope's web: the court undid during the night all the labours of the day. De Maulde was prepared to set off the very next morning, when a second courier arrived from Mr. de Noailles, two days after the former. This plenipotentiary had reconsidered the offer of his resignation; he had in short resolved to renew the negotiation with the court of Vienna, and require a categorical answer to the urgent demands of the minister for foreign affairs.

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The reply was contained in a note from Mr. de Cobentzl. It was dry, short, and harsh; it also imposed conditions on the French nation. Thus, in case that this nation either could not, or would not accept of these conditions, the note in question was actually a declaration of war; and it is in this that the Austrian ministry were inexcusable, if the court of Vienna, as it has since affirmed, wished to preserve peace, and maintain the alliance.

These conditions were: the re-establishment of the monarchy on the basis of the royal session of Louis XVI, held on June 23, 1789, consequently the re-establishment of the nobility and clergy as orders.

The restitution of the property of the S 3 clergy,

clergy, and of the lands in Alface to the German princes, with all the rights of fovereignty and feudality, and also of Avignon and the Venaissin.

In truth, if the court of Vienna had been afleep during the whole of the thirty-three months which had elapfed fince the royal fession, and at its awaking from its slumber had dictated this note, it could not have proposed any conditions more inconsistent with the bent of the revolution.

The nation had adopted a constitution; the king, either by force or good will, had acceded to it. This new social compact, whether right or wrong, was founded on the abolition of orders, and the equality of citizens. The system of sinance, which could alone prevent a bankruptcy, was bottomed on the creation of assignats. The assignats were issued on the faith of the security held out by the property of the clergy, now become national property, and the greater part of it was already sold.

The nation therefore could not accept of these conditions unless it chose to annihilate its constitution, confound the idea of property, IC

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property, ruin the purchasers, annul the assignats, and declare itself in a state of bank-ruptcy. Could such an humiliating obedience be expected on the part of a great people, proud of having conquered its liberty; and this too, for the purpose of placing itself once more under the tyranny of the nobles, who, having abandoned even their king, threatened to return to their native country, and carry fire and sword and all the scourges of their vengeance along with them; for useless parliaments; and for the dignified clergy, who were already but too haughty?

Besides, by what right did the court of Vienna pretend to impose these conditions? What pretext had it to interfere in the discussion of a territorial dispute between France and the Pope, and between France and the German princes? But still, if these conditions, inadmissible as they were, had been presented in a conciliatory and becoming manner, a regular discussion of them could have taken place, and the court of Vienna might have acted the part, not of an arbiter, but of a mediator between the king and the nation.

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Even the very form of this note was infulting both in respect to the king, whom it affected to consider in a state of nullity, and to the nation, which it treated as if in open rebellion, while it at the same time considered the assembly as illegal.

It is wrong therefore to throw the blame of the declaration of war on general Dumouriez. He had, from the very beginning, laboured to commence a negotiation by means of the count de Metternich, and it was not his fault that the scheme did not Afterwards, to repair the injuries fucceed. fuffered by the king, in consequence of the humiliating tergiversations of the two former ministers Montmorin and Lessart, he had negotiated conformably to the system of frankness and of dignity becoming two great powers, equally interested in the prefervation of peace, and the continuance of their alliance;—the only answer he received was the most contemptuous silence.

When Mr. de Noailles, by the ill-timed offer of his refignation, appeared to despair of the success of the negotiation, the minister prevailed upon the king to address

a letter

a letter directly to the emperor, in order to put an end to the machiavelism of his ministers. The note from Mr. de Cobentzl happened to arrive at this moment, and deprived him of the benefit of this last refource, as it dictated laws to which a free nation could not accede.

Let the world determine impartially on what fide the aggression lay. All the papers are in print. Dumouriez, who has been always very discreet relative to the petty intrigues of the court, which would have only tended to irritate the people, had they been made known, thought then, and still continues to think, that every great negotiation, which is connected with the happiness and the tranquillity of two or more nations, ought to be rendered as public as possible, and that mystery at such a period is a species of high treason against both kings and nations. With the confent of the king, and in his presence, and for that prince's justification and his own, he therefore rendered an account to the affembly of the conduct of the court of Verfailles in a well known report. Let these state papers be collected

for history, and meditated upon, and then let mankind finally decide.

The very report in question proves, that Dumouriez, although driven to his last shift, still held forth the means of renewing the negotiations; and although this was delivered in the name of Louis XVI, yet he was discharged from the responsibility attendant on a positive declaration, for the inferences to be drawn from it, are not that the nation ought to declare war, but that it ought to consider itself as in a state of war.

It was even possible, that the assembly might still be of opinion, that the ambassadour extraordinary should proceed to Vienna with the letter written by the king and addressed to the emperor in person, a measure of which it had formerly approved; and in this case, the negotiation would not even then have been totally desperate. Dumouriez could not as minister suggest this idea in his report; he however communicated it to several of the leading members of the diplomatic committee; but their indignation was so great on hearing the conditions exacted by the court of Vienna, that it be-

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came utterly impossible to carry this plan into effect; it would indeed have served no other purpose than to have unnecessarily involved the king with the Austrian ministry, who were misled by the false affertions of the too culpable, and too unhappy emigrants.

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CHAP. II.

Declaration of War.

The moment that the note arrived from Vienna, Dumouriez carried it to the king. He told his majesty at the same time, that it was absolutely necessary he should communicate it to the national assembly, were it for no other purpose than to justify Mr. de Noailles, and procure a repeal of the decree of accusation, which had been launched against this ambassadour.

The king having approved of the idea, Dumouriez accordingly repaired to the affembly, which heard with indignation a note that, to fay nothing elfe, was at least imprudent. Every body exclaimed, that it was necessary to avenge the glory of the nation, and from that moment war appeared to be the general wish. The decree against

against Mr. de Noailles was immediately repealed, although it was evident, that the first step taken by that ambassadour was highly improper.

The minister informed the king of the sentiments excited by the note, and then returned home, to draw up a report of the whole negotiation with the court of Vienna. He could not however take any notice of the treaty with Metternich; it was not authentic; it had been carried on by the intervention of third perfons, and would only have added to the irritation of men's minds, which were already but too much soured, on account of the appearance of duplicity which would have attached either to Mr. de Metternich, or the cabinet of Vienna.

He selected those facts only which were supported by authentic documents; he even concealed the considential letters written by Mr. de Noailles, as well to his predecessor as himself, and at the end of a few days, he carried the fruit of his labours to the king, who kept the papers during three whole

whole days, and made feveral corrections with his own hand.

It was at this period, that some discusfions took place between him and the Gironde: they wished him to draw up his report in unison with their fentiments, and were defirous that he should enter into metaphyfical discussions entirely foreign to the business in hand. In short, they were anxious that he should produce a rhetorical and logical composition. He however told them in a decifive tone, that this state paper was not intended for the French nation alone, but for all Europe, and that he wished it to be comprehended without the affistance of the new dictionary, which was not yet published. This pleafantry disconcerted them.

The king himself, according to the conflitutional decrees, must appear in the affembly, at the head of his council, at the
time of the report, and they wished at least
to compose the discourse that was to be
spoken by him on that occasion. A native
of Geneva, a man of great talents, drew up a
very long oration, replete with metaphysical
discussions.

discussions, into which Louis could not naturally enter. Another prepared a second, shorter indeed, but which would have been entirely misplaced in the mouth of the king. Dumouriez received them both, and said that he would submit them to his majesty's consideration.

The great dispute between him and the members of the Gironde, as well as with the ministers Roland and Clavieres, was relative to the conclusion. They pretended, that, according to the terms of the decree, while speaking in the king's name, he ought to conclude by demanding a declaration of war: in truth the text appeared to be on their fide. He, on the other hand, maintained that the spirit of the decree did not apply, to the present state of affairs; that the king had fo many enemies, that he could not act with too much prudence; that to pronounce a declaration of war was a steptoo delicate for him to undertake; that it would be highly proper not to shut the door, either against new negotiations, the repentance of the princes, or the return of the emigrants: in fact, he had inferted a paffage in his report, in which he exhorted them to repair to and fight under the banners of France, in a cause with which the honour of the nation and the king was so intimately connected. As he deemed this highly proper, he forewarned the king, that, on its Ling read before the council, a discussion was likely to ensue relative to the conclusion, as I he requested his majesty not to yield the point.

Two extraordinary councils were held in fuccession, and a dispute accordingly took place. Lacoste, Degraves, and Dumouriez, supported the argument in favour of a state of war; the king remained firm, and the passage was left exactly in the words penned by the minister.

He also informed his majesty about the two copies of an oration, which he had been charged to present to him; the prince took them, but he himself composed a very short and a very sage discourse, which he afterwards pronounced with great facility.

On the 20th of April, Louis XVI repaired at the head of his council to the national assembly. All France felt how interesting

teresting this fession was likely to prove. The hall was full. The prefident had given orders that the utmost decorum should be preserved, and that no one should express either his approbation, or disapprobation. The king was very majestic after pronouncing his discourse, he listened with the utmost attention to the minister's report, and appeared by the motions of his head and hand, to approve every part of it. He then departed, and Dumouriez, who had accompanied him out, returned foon after to the affembly, where he was greatly applauded; the fitting continued during the whole day. The time occupied in deliberation was not however long, and the with for war was unanimous. Not a fingle Feuillant dared to express a contrary senti-

The minister was soon after sent to the diplomatic committee, to assist in drawing up the decree. At ten o'clock at night it was presented and passed, and was then carried to the king, who immediately sanctioned it.

Neither the king, nor the minister, nor Vot. II. T

the affembly, could have purfued any other line of conduct than that adopted by them. The king by these means acquired security and the restoration of public confidence. which in truth was but momentary, because new intrigues, and other unfortunate circumstances, produced mutual fuspicion and discord. The minister could not, without betraying the honour and interests of the nation, and exposing the king, suffer the people to remain any longer ignorant of the facts. He had fairly calculated the confequences; but it was an evil without a remedy, and it was better to be in an open state of warfare, than to remain exposed to a perfidious and dangerous peace. of join and hotheredil

The affembly, which, as well as the king and the nation, had been infulted, being backed by the general voice, for there was not a fingle department or district that did not evince the utmost desire for war, would have been ruined and dishonoured, if it had hesitated a moment as to the declaration of hostilities.

The proclamation which followed, produced a general joy throughout all France.

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The open protection afforded to the emigrants had irritated the nation, which expected that they would henceforth become less dangerous, and this accordingly happened. It was also hoped,

1º. That the factions would cease, and that the love of their country would reunite all the French against a foreign

enemy;

2°. This enemy was the cabinet of Vienna, whence they were perfuaded came all those councils by which the French court had been directed ever fince the arrival of the queen, but more especially fince the revolution; and they confidered the declaration of war as the scissars that were to cut all the wifnes of these dangerous and multiplied intrigues, which, either right or wrong, they attributed to the court;

And 3°. It was expected that the war would entice from Paris, and the other great cities, a number of turbulent men, who, from want of employment, disturbed the public tranquillity, and fomented discord.

It was not until a few days afterwards that the Feuillans dared to avow their enmity enmity to the declaration; they then began to argue after the manner of the schools, by observing, that this was an offensive act, and that the constitution did not permit any other than a defensive war. These sophisms were puerile in themselves, and at the same time replete with injustice; however nearly all the constitutional party adopted them, and some general officers sent in their resignations.

Certainly nothing could be more defenfive than this declaration of war; it was calculated to repel the injuries of a court, which had told France that its king was a prisoner; that all the acts done by the nation since 1789 were illegal; that its constitution was absurd and unjust; and that itself was in a state of rebellion: in addition to all this, the cabinet of Vienna at the very same time permitted a party to arm within its territories, and on its frontiers, which had refused to obey the king and the nation.

Those very men who now affected such a critical sophistry, but two years before had decreed the armament of forty-sive sail of the

the line against England, which had not attacked us, in support of Spain, and that too on account of the most frivolous of all possible causes, the establishment of a British factory in a frozen corner in the neighbourhood of the northern pole, sive thousand leagues distant from France, which was not in the least interested in the dispute, and all this under the pretext of a family compact, which the constitution must one day necessarily reform and annihilate.

The dispute indeed was unjust in its own nature, for the bull of Alexander VI did not confer an exclusive privilege on the Spaniards relative to the Pacific Ocean, where, in fact, there are still many islands not yet either conquered or discovered; and the English, like any other nation, have a natural right to form an establishment in any part not already occupied by the subjects of Spain. This declamation about an offensive and defensive war was a mere cavil, worthy of the bad faith and the frivolity of that party.

Lafayette did not at first adopt it, but feemed to be prepared to perform with T 3 fidelity

fidelity that great character, in which the war enabled him to appear. He was the best stationed, the youngest, and consequently ought to be the most active of the three generals. How many evils would he have prevented, had he not afterwards permitted himself to be seduced by the sophisms of the intriguers!

Another class of factious men at this period connected themselves with this party, which according to them was at once violent and raft, and these never reproached Dumouriez, until events had proved that they were deceived in their calculations; these were the decided ariffocrats both within and without the kingdom. They anticipated, in confequence of the war, their speedy return to their native country, and the immediate re-establishment of the old government. They imagined that France could not refift the united strength of Prussia and Austria. No one was then acquainted with the immense resources of a free and brave people, among whom liberty was about to render all its citizens foldiers.

Affuredly, if the emperor and the king of Prussia

Prussia had but foreseen, that this nation would have been able to have opposed all Europe, they would not have intermeddled in its internal disputes; they would have treated the emigrants with compassion, without bestowing their confidence upon them; and they would have fympathifed with the frank and open manner of negotiation adopted by the minister: the revolution would then have been achieved without the commission of any cruelties; the neighbouring powers would have remained in peace, and France would have been happy.

After having proved by incontestable evidence, that as minister he had used every effort in his power to prevent the war, and that he had not participated in its declaration, until forced to do for Dumouriez is too much the friend of truth not to avow, that he was defirous, as a Frenchman, that his native country should at length adopt this, which was indeed the only noble and becoming part; and that he would have confidered her as cowardly and unworthy of liberty, had she any longer tolerated the difdainful

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disdainful conduct, and the hostile disposi-

In truth it was only anticipating this court, and forcing the storm to burst before it had become dangerous. The princes were arming; they had levied a corps of household troops, and several regiments; these were not intended to remain idle. Several of the German courts protected them, permitted magazines to be formed on their territories, and allowed of a still more criminal transaction, that of the fabrication and distribution of forged assignats.

The cabinets of Vienna and Berlin deliberated on the means of putting an end to the revolution in France, first at Reichenbach, and afterwards at Pilnitz; neither recognifing the king of France as free, nor the French people as a nation.

They announced a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was to operate against France, in the same manner as that of Berlin in 1772 did in respect to Poland, and that of the Hague in 1790 in respect to the Low Countries. It was therefore prudent to disconcert all these manœuvres; to afford no time for the collecting of an emigrant army on the frontiers; to prevent the forming of a strong league against France; to dismember Austria, and to carry the war into her own territories, while the Belgians were as yet in a situation to hold up their heads, not-withstanding their recent submission; to throw embarrassments in her way that would occupy all her attention; and perhaps extinguish the spirit of faction in France, by directing the national impetuosity towards external objects.

It was not until after exhausting all possible means of pacification, that Dumouriez was convinced of the necessity of coming to a prompt decision. He would indeed have been better pleased, had the cabinet of Vienna perceived, that its true interest consisted in an agreement with revolutionary France; that a solid constitution was more conformable to its alliance than an arbitrary government, which would reduce it to a dependence on the caprice of a frivolous court; that the ill success of the seven years war had proceeded

ceeded from the bad conduct of the French government while under the influence of Pompadour; that during the war of 1778 and 1779, it was not able to attain any affiftance from its ally; and that so powerful a nation governed despotically, and that too by frivolous characters, is likely to prove but a bad neighbour. From all this it appears, that either the court of Vienna ought not to have intermeddled at all, or appeared only in the capacity of an impartial mediator. What a noble part might Leopold have acted!

Howas not until after exhausting of portable means of pacinication, that Durachiner was converted or the Meellity of coming to a prompt decision. He would indeed have been better pleased, had the cabinet of Vienna perceived, that its true interest confided in an agreement with revolutionary France; that a folid constitution was more conformable to its alliance than an arbitrary governable to its alliance than an arbitrary governable to the caprice of a frivolous court; that ithe on the caprice of a frivolous court; that the

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Plan of the Campaign.

Long before his entrance into administration, and even at the time he was employed in la Vendée, Dumouriez had confidered a foreign war as inevitable, and according to custom had reflected on the means of attack and defence, best adapted to his native country. The moment he learned, that three armies were forming along the frontiers, from Switzerland to Dunkirk, and that Narbonne, the minister at war, was about to visit the garrisons, he had no longer any doubt, but this was done expressly with the intention to make use of all his official influence to haften the preparations. He had accordingly written from Niort, to prevail upon him to force the electors of Treves and Mayence to iffue immediate orders for the dispersion and sale of the magazines provided in their respective territories, for the use of the princes; he also advised him to purchase them, not that France was actually in any want of them, but that their removal might not be considered as an act of violence, which however would have been very excusable in the present instance, and could not be considered in any other light than that of a defensive measure, when it was proved to these sovereigns, that the magazines in question were intended for the rebels, which might have been very easily done.

On his being foon after appointed a lieutenant-general, and fummoned to Paris, he had presented both to this minister, and his successor Degraves, a plan of operations for the South, consisting of two parts. The first comprehending the system of war which he thought ought to be followed; and this was, to remain decidedly in a defensive position in all places where mountains, such as the Alps and the Pyrenees, the sea, or a river like the Rhine, presented a natural bar-

tier, and to adopt offensive operations every where else.

According to this scheme, as he had no manner of doubt but any particular would lead to a general warfare, he had not suggested the adoption of offensive measures but in two points: on the side of Italy, in order to seize on all the territories of the king of Sardinia as far as the Alps, in case that monarch should be induced to declare himself our enemy, a circumstance extremely likely; but in this quarter, our offensive operations ought to be very much narrowed, and the moment that Savoy and the county of Nice should be occupied, we ought once more to return to the defensive system.

The other part pointed out by him for offensive operations, was the Low Countries. The Belgians and inhabitants of Liege had been with some difficulty subdued, after having attempted a revolution which had preceded ours. They were still discontented, because in a case like this, whatever prudence may be displayed by the sovereign, who subjects a people that wishes to withdraw itself from his authority, it must

must always happen, more especially at first, that he will consider the people as rebels, while he in his turn will be looked upon as an oppressor. Suspicion naturally fublists for a long time between the governor and the governed, and the spark that is dormant, but not extinguished, needs only a breath, perhaps, to rekindle the flame. This was exactly the case with the Low Countries. The number of the discontented was confiderable. The difmantling of the fortifications and the rupture of the barrier treaty had prepared the Belgic provinces to receive the law from France, because there was nothing to protect them from an invasion. Belgium was rich and fertile, and its inhabitants, who were diffatisfied, appeared to folicit our affiftance; in short, whether friendly or unfriendly, it was wife to felect this as the first theatre of the war, on purpose to anticipate the house of Austria, which no longer kept any terms with us.

Narbonne, on his return from his journey, had announced to the assembly, that the frontier towns were in a state of defence, the magazines full, and the three armies ready to take the field. His fuccessor Degraves had made the same affertions. Befides, but little preparation was at present necessary for the attack of the Austrian Netherlands. The emperor had not more than thirty thousand men there. The country was every where open and fertile, and the people expected us with impatience: as a proof of this, it is to be recollected, that they received us with joy fix months after, notwithstanding the shameful disasters accompanying our first attempts.

Accordingly at the epoch of the declaration of war, all that was necessary for the fuccess of this invasion, was to employ celerity rather than method, so that time might not be given to the emperor to fend troops thither; to direct the columns in fuch a manner that there should be an exact correspondence between their movements, and above all things to treat the inhabitants as the brethren of liberty, that they might be afterwards induced to co-operate in the defence of the country, and thus double our strength.

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The minister Degraves, with much knowledge, was yet deficient in point of experience, and he was noble minded enough to confess it; he accordingly bestowed his considence on his colleague Dumouriez, who traced out a plan for the campaign, that best corresponded with existing circumstances.

The marshal de Rochambeau commanded the northern army. When the garrisons were draughted (and there was no manner of occasion for their being strong, since the operations were to take place in front of them) he might be able to form a corps of thirty or thirty-five thousand effective men.

Lafayette, who headed the central army, could scarcely have more than twenty or twenty-five thousand troops at his disposal, because he was obliged to act at a greater distance from the fortified places, and was consequently obliged to leave stronger garrifons in them. Thus Dumouriez reckoned, that the first movement for the seizure of the Low Countries would take place with a force of about fifty or sixty thousand men; and this was more than necessary.

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But Rochambeau was one of those who had testified the greatest aversion to the new minister, and also to the declaration of war. He had plainly told Dumouriez that he was a fool, and that he might avoid transacting business with either him or Degraves, whose youth apparently did not inspire him with much considence; he had set out in a pet for his command.

This general had displayed much skill in the art of war, and possessed great experience; but age had blunted his faculties, and an habitual state of ill-health had deprived him of all his activity. Irritated, discontented with every thing about him, an enemy to the revolution, although it had made him a marshal of France, and beset by the Feuillans, some of whom were his general officers, he had announced that difcipline was entirely restored among the troops; he afterwards experienced the contrary, and found that it was impossible to depend upon an army, whose confidence neither himself nor those under him had obtained. This has been the fole motive by which the French foldiery have been at all VOL. II. times

times influenced, but more especially since they began to encourage a systematical disorganization, falsely regarding military licence as the Ægis of public liberty.

Lafayette, younger and more ambitious, had made himfelf beloved by his army, which was in better order. He at that time concealed the opinion which he has fince disclosed relative to the declaration of war, because he perceived that it opened to him a brilliant career, and enabled him to act a conspicuous part, which would conduct him naturally to the dictatorship. Neither his numerous partifans, nor the Feuillans, who supported his interests, made any secret of his ambitious views. From their execution would have refulted the difmission of the national affembly, the return of the constitutional party, and the adoption of the new fystem of the two chambers. But this change could not be effected without the affiftance of the army, and these grand projects were now counteracted by a foreign

Whether from ambition, or dissimulation, Lafayette readily acquiesced in the plan of the campaign campaign chalked out by Dumouriez; they concerted measures together with the utmost cordiality, and agreed on the time and manner of the execution; but he proposed to this minister, as Rochambeau was not only chagrined, but in a bad state of health, that he himself should be entrusted, as commander in chief, with the execution of the project; he accordingly demanded fifty thoufand men, with whom he was to enter the Low Countries by Namur, and descend along the banks of the Meuse as far as Liege, which would render him completely master of the Netherlands.

This plan was a good one, and Dumouriez really thought that Lafayette would have fucceeded in carrying it into effect; but the conduct purfued by this general fince his return to Paris, his unnatural connection with the court after having been fo long its fcourge, his fudden coalition with the party of the Lameths, which had formerly ruined him in the opinion of the nation, but at that moment looked up to him as its leader: all this had rendered him equally

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equally suspected by the national assembly and the Jacobins.

The latter already deemed it improper that he should be entrusted with the command of a body of troops; and if he had been invested with the whole military authority, the minister would have passed for a Feuillant, and the assembly would have proceeded to extremities against the king, Lafayette, and the administration, sooner than suffer it.

Besides this, there were two marshals of France. If Rochambeau were too seeble, and too sickly to act, there was not the same objection against Luckner. In short, Dumouriez himself had not so great an opinion of the character and talents of Lafayette, as to run such desperate risks in his behalf. He had always shown himself indecisive, versatile, and rather cunning than able, when he acted the principal character during the three first years of the revolution. He possessed talents and knowledge, but he was destitute of that genius which hurries mankind along with it; and what-

ever might be his ambition, nature had condemned him to mediocrity.

He accordingly refused him the chief command; notwithstanding this he left him room for hope, and this too without deceiving him. The moment that the invasion of the Low Countries was accomplished, Rochambeau would naturally return to France, on account of the bad state of his health; Lafayette therefore would then find himself intrusted with the command in, and the defence of the Netherlands, a circumstance which must quickly lead to his being created a marshal of France.

Lafayette affected an air of content, and dissembled his resentment. He even assumed the appearance of acting with good faith until the epoch of the disastrous events that occurred soon after, for it was not till then that he openly declared his sentiments. But Jaucourt, one of the right side of the assembly, that is to say a Feuillant, a member of the military committee, and the general's particular friend, frequently renewed this claim. Dumas, who was of the

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fame party, and who had become the declared enemy of the minister, although he esteemed him, and took every occasion to afford him proofs of his regard, also backed this request in an underhand manner, and all of them became more bitter against Dumouriez after his refusal.

According to the plan of the campaign, which was extremely fimple, there were to be two real, and two false attacks. Lafayette, with a detachment of ten thousand men, which was to be followed by the rest of his army, was to have filed off by Givet, and taken possession of Namur, where at that time there was only a fingle battalion of Walloons, more than the half of which had entered into a conspiracy to desert on the appearance of the French. Thence he was to have marched towards Bruffels or Liege, for the first operation alone was prefcribed to him; as to every thing else, he was at liberty to follow his own judgment. This movement was to be executed between the 30th of April and the 2d of May.

At the same period lieutenant-general Biron was to set out from Valenciennes with with ten thousand men, and to march towards Mons, where the Austrian general Beaulieu was posted with two thousand five hundred troops, who were reinforced to five thousand.

A general officer was to be dispatched on the very same day from Lisle, by lieutenant general d'Aumont, with three thousand fix hundred men: these were to follow the road leading to Tournay, with orders to push for that town if they met with no refistance, to place a garrison in its citadel, and then either to join general Biron, or to execute any orders he might fend. was mentioned in the instructions, that if the Belgians did not feem friendly, and would not declare themselves, he was to stop at Bessieux in the territories of France, and at the very extremity of the frontier, because in that case, this was only meant as a false attack, and therefore the safety of the corps was not to be endangered.

Carle, a major general and commanding officer of Dunkirk, was also to fally forth at the head of twelve hundred men, and march towards Furnes, to feel the pulse of the Flem-

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ings; he was to conduct himself agreeably to the progress of the other troops, and either to return to Dunkirk, or to remain in the field, and strengthen himself by means of new troops.

This general attack was to be made with about forty thousand troops, which were fufficient for the first operations. The war had only been declared during ten days, and neither orders nor troops could arrive from Vienna for defending the country, which, in addition to this, was extremely well disposed. Had the scheme been confided to a man of genius, able, active, and willing, the success would have been infallible.

This army was to have been quickly reinforced by more than thirty thousand infantry, confisting of national battalions raised during the preceding summer in the northern and western departments of France. A second levy was ordered, and the interior in the mean time furnished several regiments of cavalry, which were now approaching Flanders. Thus when the emperor would have assembled a body of troops in June or July, with an intention to reconquer the Low Countries, he would have been obliged to oppose Lasayètte at the head of upwards of seventy-sive thousand Frenchmen, and a whole country in a state of insurrection. In short, this is precisely the very same plan that general Dumouriez himself afterwards carried into execution with a greater force indeed, but also against a more powerful defence.

Lafayette ought to have been well contented with this project, which, without apparently excluding marshal Rochambeau, would have procured to him the object of all his wishes—the chief command; because a lieutenant general and some major-generals only were to be detached from the marshal's army, and who, so soon as they had entered the Low Countries, would of course be under his own orders, and form part of his troops.

Neither had Rochambeau any reason to complain. He said that he was ill, and he was really so, he therefore did not receive orders to march. He had exhibited great repugnance to submit to the authority of the council, and to adopt its plans. The

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members composing it, on the other hand, were cautious not to give him any cause of offence, and therefore addressed all their commands to the officers under him. However, by way of flattering his self-love, and out of respect to his rank, all the orders passed through his own hands, to the generals who were to carry them into execution. Indeed they did not consult him; but he himself had occasioned this exclusion by his declared enmity to the ministers.

This plan was laid before the council, approved by the king, and clothed with his authority.

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CHAP. IV.

Conduct of the Generals.

his heavy artillery as far as Givet, and to occupy the camp of Ransenne by the first of May. All his magazines were in the country of Messin. As Givet, which ought to have been merely an occasional camp to facilitate the plan of penetrating to Namur, was afterwards converted by him into a fixed position, and that too without any possible utility, he became in want of every thing, and his ill-humour began to display itself in complaints against the ministry, and more especially the author of the plan of the campaign, which he had not executed.

This voluntary dereliction of it, on his part, was a fault. The attack on Namur, which

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which might have been made on the second of May, was an expedition totally independent of the check which Biron experienced before Mons on the first of that month. This very check was even an additional motive for its execution, as he was much stronger than the Austrians in this quarter, and he might have compensated by his success for the disgrace of our arms in Flanders. His personal glory was even interested in it.

If he had taken Namur, as he undoubtedly might have done, he would have become a leader effentially necessary to the French army, and in that case his credit would have been so much augmented, that he might then at his ease have blamed the ministry, nay dismissed, and replaced it with his own creatures, as he did two months afterwards; instead of this, having attempted nothing, he appeared to be tender of the enemy, and to reserve all his courage against the council and the Jacobins, whom he seemed always to consound together, although their interests were very different.

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fide of Namur, and that which gave occafion to believe that Lafayette depended but little on the execution of the plan, is, that instead of marching all his army, he had only taken with him ten thousand men, and cantoned the rest along the Dun, in the Bishoprics, at thirty leagues distance from his main body.

Biron set out from Valenciennes, and encamped at Quievrain on the first of May. He was a very brave man, of a mild disposition, an agreeable character, and well affected to the expedition; but he did not possess great military talents. From Quievrain he proceeded as far as Boussu, where general Beaulieu had posted some light troops. He himself occupied the heights above Mons with his little army.

Biron had not made any disposition, but no one indeed could have been made so as to prevent the unexpected event that occurred. Two regiments of dragoons, without seeing the enemy, betook themselves to slight, exclaiming that they were surrounded and betrayed, throwing the infantry at the same time into disorder, and carrying them along with

with them. Biron, young Rochambeau. Levasseur, aide-de-camp of Dumouriez, and fome other officers, ran into the midst of them, conjuring them to stop, and doing every thing in their power to rally them: the only return they met with was menaces; they were even fired upon. The whole army disbanded, although it was not purfued by more than five or fix hundred Hulans and chasseurs, who pillaged the camp of Quievrain, Biron's baggage, and the military chest. The fugitives at length arrived in the utmost disorder at Valenciennes, where adding the most criminal licence to the basest terrour, they wished to massacre the marshal de Rochambeau and the general officers. There are but few epochs more dishonourable for the French foldiery.

On the very same day and hour majorgeneral Theobald Dillon left Lisle, and arrived at Bessieux with three thousand men, one third of whom consisted of cavalry; a small body of eight or nine hundred Austrians sallying out of Tournay, came in sight; on this the horse uttered the same

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cries as those of Biron, rushed through the body of the infantry, sled as far as Lisle, without being so much as pursued, and abandoned the artillery, waggons, and baggage.

Theobald Dillon entered Liste after the fugitives, and was massacred by the soldiers, as well as a lieutenant colonel of engineers, a man of merit, of the name of Berthois; their bodies were hung up on a gallows, and the populace joining the ferocious and cowardly troops, committed all kinds of excesses, exclaiming at the same time that the whole of the officers were aristocrats.

On comparing these two events, which occurred at the same hour, the one near Mons, the other in the neighbourhood of Tournay, both of the disasters commencing with the slight of the cavalry, under a similar pretext, and accompanied with the very same expressions, there can be no manner of doubt, but that the whole resulted from a very dark plot. By whom was it contrived? This is what has hitherto remained unknown.

It was not the interest of the Jacobins that

that the war should be conducted in any other than an honest manner; on the contrary, fuch was their express wish. The Gironde and the affembly were deeply concerned in its fuccess. It is also to be obferved, that this diforganisation did not take place any where but in the northern army; the troops in question had marched out of Liste and Valenciennes, for nothing fimilar occurred, either in Lafayette's division, or in the little corps with which general Carle fet out from Dunkirk, and entered Furnes, where he neither experienced friendship nor enmity on the part of the inhabitants. The account of the shameful checks at Tournay and Mons was instantly spread abroad, and after these instances of cowardice on the part of the French, the Flemings displayed their wisdom in remaining in a state of tranquillity.

The arrival of this intelligence threw the affembly and all Paris into consternation. Dumouriez heard it with the greatest calmness; he calculated the profound treachery with which his plan of the campaign had been evaded, and he was confirmed in the persuasion that the whole had been medi-

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tated beforehand, by the indecent joy which he discovered among the party in opposition, and which for some days got the upper hand in the assembly.

The unfortunate Degraves was difmayed, but his colleague made him easy by taking all the blame and the danger upon himself, as also the task of defending him at the council board. Louis XVI conducted himfelf with great propriety on this occasion, and fided with his minister. The Feuillans, on the other hand, afferted that he was an idiot, a firebrand, an ambitious man, who, like Louvois, wished to direct the military operations from his cabinet in Paris. He might have answered with great justice, that Louvois had not practifed and studied the art of war during thirty-fix years, and that Rochambeau and Lafayette neither refembled Condé nor Turenne.

These two generals wrote to the king and to the president of the assembly, and informed them, that they could no longer execute the orders of an ignorant council and a presumptuous minister. Rochambeau asserted that he had been obliged to Vol. II.

open the campaign without either provifion or camp equipage. Notwithstanding this, at the very moment when the enemy pillaged the camp of Quievrain, tents, and necessaries for twenty-two thousand men, were found there; and these seemed to have been amassed on the frontiers, for the express purpose of their becoming a prey to them.

There was no manner of occasion for all this baggage to enter Mons, and Dumouriez, in the instructions drawn up by him, and which, as well as all the other orders, were signed by the minister at war, had expressly recommended that the troops should march as much disencumbered as possible, and without any baggage whatever. The three thousand six hundred men under Theobald Dillon had also tents, baggage, and among other things, two thousand sixe hundred blankets. Why did he take all these along with him, notwithstanding the orders to the contrary?

The refult was, that the generals, having no longer the necessary articles for entering upon the campaign, and being in possession of a carte blanche, thought proper to refume the defensive system. Their complaints were so bitter, and the faction of the Feuillans possessed for great an advantage over them, that Dumouriez, who resisted the storm, was for several days in some danger of being sent to Orleans.

The affembly almost turned their backs upon him, and insisted on his confining himself within his own department, and no longer interfering with military affairs. When he commenced his campaign in the Low Countries, he found himself exactly in the same case that the two generals pretended to be; he however conducted himself in a very different manner.

Rochambeau complained that he was deftitute of camp equipage and provision. Dumouriez had neither provision, nor money, nor shoes, nor clothes. Lafayette complained, that he was obliged to make forced marches through impracticable roads. Dumouriez and Valence led, at the latter end of October, and that too after a very rainy season, an army and a train of heavy artillery along the very same roads. The

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truth is, that with a good will a man may furmount difficulties, and that every thing appears an infurmountable obstacle, when it is intended that a plan shall not succeed.

These generals did not conceal the whole, but they only accomplished the half of their project. The whole nation took part with the minister. The assembly, recovering from the first impression of terror, easily discovered the black intrigue, and also supported him, while the king himself bestowed more marks of his considence than ever.

It was then that Rochambeau, who really was in a bad state of health, sent in his resignation and retired. Dumouriez, respecting his age, and esteeming his talents, had the generosity to make him an offer of the command of the troops within the kingdom; in which case he might have resided at Paris, and assisted the minister at war with his advice; but he resused to accept of this situation.

Lafayette now thought, that he was about to *inherit* the command of the northern, which he intended to unite with the central army. His friends courted the minister on purpose to render him favourable; he, without being moved to it by rancour, merely from a spirit of justice, opposed his pretensions; the whole council, and the king himself, were of the same opinion. Luckner was a marshal of France. Lafayette had just committed a fault in not attacking Namur, and in permitting his advanced guard to be beaten; and he had also made several useless marches to approach Maubeuge, on the retreat of the marshal de Rochambeau. His conduct as a military man did not surpass mediocrity, and as a statesman it was factious.

This last refusal rendered him the declared enemy of Dumouriez, against whom he wrote a letter replete with injuries; it at the same time included the whole council, whom he termed the scandalous administration. It is said that Baumetz dictated this epistle; it was three days in Paris before it made its appearance. Emissaries, during this interval, were sent to Dumouriez, to forewarn him of what was to happen, and if possible to intimidate him.

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He spoke on this subject to the unfortunate Rochefoucauld, and told him to advise Lafayette to suppress it; for at this very moment Dumouriez had dismissed Roland and Clavieres from the council, on purpose to free the king from their oppression, and he had also quarrelled with the Girondists and the Jacobins; therefore this letter would evince an ill-timed refentment, which would rebound on the author himself. The rage and folly of his dangerous partifans made him reject the counsels of Rochefoucauld and of Röderer. This aversion on the part of Lafayette endured but too long, and occasioned many evils. hazard and and bristons the feet had all to

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Resignation of Degraves: Servan becomes
Minister at War. Dispute with the King
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DEGRAVES had been terrified by the shameful commencement of the war. Mild, amiable, and possessing a feeble state of health, which did not correspond with his zeal, from the first day of his entering into office he found the duty of a minister involved in details far exceeding his strength; he had accordingly requested an assistant under the name of director of the war, and no department stood more in need of one.

Briffot had recommended a person to him who was extremely well informed, at least so far as concerned theory; this was Servan, formerly a lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Dauphin infantry, and at that time colonel of one of the regiments of X 4 Paris.

Paris. He entered into the minister's office without any particular defignation, and under the most moderate and most disinterested appearance, exacted much, and performed little. He was descended from a noble parliamentary family of Dauphiné, and had been formerly fub-governor to the king's pages, from which employment he was dismissed. He then went into the Dauphin's regiment. He pretended that his dismission proceeded from the freedom of his principles. He was author of a book replete with good ideas, and written with much ability, entitled The Soldier Citizen, which indicated confiderable talents. His appearance was that of a man phlegmatic, reflecting, and austere; he was however gentle and flattering in his deportment, but a fimple and philosophical outside concealed great ambition and infensibility.

Degraves had formed an acquaintance with a chain of females, who, conducting him from link to link, at last connected him with madame de Stael *, ambassadress from

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^{*} The daughter of Mr. Necker .- Trans.

Sweden, who had become the Circe of the Feuillans. As their faction was composed of a number of young colonels of the fame age as himfelf, with whom he had lived in fome degree of intimacy, Degraves had at first very properly broken off all acquaintance with them, in order that he might only occupy his mind with the duties of his place, and maintain a strict impartiality. The moment that the generals had annihilated the plan of the campaign, as much through their own fault as the licentiousness and defection of the army in Flanders, advantage was taken of the habits of the minister at war, to beset, and intimidate him. He beheld the administration discomfitted by a powerful faction; he had no confidence in those employed in his own office; he had been deceived by the contractors relative to all the necessaries for the army; his enormous responsibility affrighted him; he accordingly confided his uneafiness to his colleague Dumouriez, with whom he lived on terms of friendship, and frequently. befought him to exchange departments.

The latter would have most willingly complied

complied with this request, if it had been communicated to him previously to the shameful catastrophe at the opening of the campaign, but the moment was now elapsed. It would have appeared as if he had undertaken the war department for the express purpose of revenging himself on the generals by domineering over them, and this would have produced new broils, and have effected a schism, out of which it would have been difficult to have extricated himself at the beginning of a war. He offered to share the labours of his friend, but he refused to accept of his department; it was then that Degraves determined to resign.

This, by occasioning a derangement in the council, produced much mischief. Until then this body had lived together in some degree of union; but a more particular intimacy subsisted between Degraves, Lacoste, and Dumouriez, who, less occupied with what passed around them than with the affairs of their own departments, supported the independence of their places against the influence of the factions. Some altercations on this score had even taken place

place with Roland and Clavieres; for Duranton, the minister of justice, confined himfelf within the boundaries of his own office, which had but little connection with the business of the other five, and was in reality neither a Jacobin, nor a Feuillant, nor a Girondist.

Degraves himself proposed Servan as his successor, and he was soon after made a major general. On this occasion, it was wrong in that unfortunate prince to dissemble his repugnance at such a choice. He knew Servan better than either Degraves or Dumouriez, who never had any connection with this man, and had not even been acquainted with him longer than a month. Had his majesty started but the least objection, he would never have been minister.

Servan had been long intimate with the celebrated madame Roland, and is faid, whether true or false, to have acted in the capacity of her lover. He was not eight days in office before he began to blacken the conduct of his predecessor, and intirely separated himself from general Dumouriez, to whom he had made proffers of the most submissive

fubmissive attachment, on purpose to obtain his office. He not only neglected to consult him relative to any of the business of his department, but he even concealed the position and strength of the armies, and endeavoured to enter into an accommodation with the generals, by appearing to be on bad terms with his colleague, who did not in the least constrain his actions, and never exhibited any curiosity, except relative to such parts of his administration as might more or less influence his own negotiations.

A very trifling motive menaced France at this period with a new war, and the impetuosity of the Jacobins on one side, and the intrigues of the court on the other, converted it into a serious affair. From the very commencement of the revolution, the court of Turin had displayed but too much partiality. The king's two brothers had espoused princesses of the house of Savoy, and their sister was married to the prince of Piedmont. The count d'Artois had retired thither, and, although he had hurt his interest by the levity of his conduct,

duct, and that of those who surrounded him, it was very natural for the court of Turin to wish for the success of such near relations, more especially as it would in that case get rid of very troublesome guests.

Savoy had never been contented with its fovereigns; the ideas of French liberty had fermented in the heads of these mountaineers. However moderate their imposts were, they were yet burdensome to these poor people, who depended for their subsistence on their neighbours the French.

The court of Turin had been inconfiderate enough to assure itself of their sidelity by force; it had strengthened its garrifons, and employed a rigorous military authority to punish innovators. They, on the other hand, had taken refuge in the Jacobin society, the common assume of the seditious of all countries, which was not only eager to receive, but had even sent missionaries among them, on purpose to cultivate the germs of insurrection.

It was in Turin and the county of Nice, that all those conspiracies of the emigrants, badly conducted, and always disconcerted, had been first hatched. During the residence of the count d'Artois there, they had formed plots against Marseilles, Toulon, Antibes, Lyons, and several towns in Dauphiné, the whole of which had been discovered.

The court of Turin, also pretending to consider Louis XVI as a prisoner, had withdrawn its ambassadour without any ceremony, treated the count de Choiseul, minister from France, with such coolness, as to constrain him to demand leave to resign, and after his departure did not appear very anxious to have any one nominated to succeed him.

Not only Savoy and Piedmont were crowded with emigrants, but these were openly formed into regiments in the county of Nice, and the king of Sardinia had publicly solicited the Swiss to enter into a league, under pretence of guarantying his transalpine states. It was rumoured that he had collected a large quantity of artillery in Savoy; and as this consisted of battering pieces, it could not be alleged that they were purely intended with a view towards defensive

defensive measures; it was rather to be presumed, that they were gotten ready to be at hand for the purpose of attacking Lyons or Dauphiné. In addition to this, the departments of Dauphiné and of Provence were continually spreading alarms by means of their addresses to the national assembly, which at length passed a decree requiring Louis to demand a frank explanation relative to the intentions of the king of Sardinia.

Such was the state of affairs between France and the court of Turin, when Dumouriez took possession of the helm of foreign affairs. His continual occupations in arranging the political system with the great powers; his spirited negotiations with the court of Vienna; the declaration of war which followed it; the details relative to the plan of the campaign, and its bad success, had induced him not to neglect, but to suspend, the decision of the disputes between France and the court of Turin, which he could not however permit any longer to remain in a state of uncertainty.

He had also been prevented by the fear

of receiving a haughty or deceitful answer, and he had announced to the diplomatic committee, that his principle was to follow the example of the Romans, who carried on only one war at a time, selected the strongest enemy, and dissembled relative to the injuries received from powers of the second order.

The petulance of the Jacobins, the wishes of the Savoyards, the imprudence of the emigrants, the half hostile conduct of the court of Turin, and the alarms of the southern departments, provoked the decree on the part of the assembly. Being thus precluded from all further delay, he transmitted a dispatch to the charge d'affaires of France at Turin, containing six of the principal causes of complaint, concerning which he demanded a full explanation on the part of the king.

The minister paid no manner of attention to this well intended overture, and neglected for a long time to return an answer. All the cabinets were missed in their politics by the affertions of the unfortunate emigrants, who made them believe that the revolution

revolution could not endure, that the nation was weary of it, and that the present ministry, Dumouriez especially, were the agents of a rash and feeble faction, which was on the eve of being subjugated, and would become the victims of the people themselves. The court of Turin, above all others, ought to have defired that France should have become a constitutional monarchy, governed according to fage and pacific measures. The steps taken by it to oppose this, and re-establish the old government, were highly imprudent; for it was this opposition, joined to foreign politics, that precipitated the French into anarchy and all their excesses, through mere despair. It is most likely that the nation would have completed its conftitution without diforder and without crime, if it had only been furrounded with fage conciliators, instead of active enemies, who tormented her with continual conspiracies, and irritated her by unceasing fcorn.

As the answer from Turin, when it at length arrived, was neither categorical nor polite, the minister informed the king, that Vol. II.

he was under the necessity of laying it before the allembly, which began to prefs him on this fubject, and he proposed to his maiesty to fend as minister-plenipotentiary to that court a man who was at once active. vigilant, and intrepid; in order to force it to come to an explanation, to verify the rumours relative to the arming of the emigrants at Nice, the augmentation of the troops, and arrival of the battering cannon in Savoy, and to develope the hostile negotiations of that court with the Helvetic body, more especially as this circumstance was connected with the plot of the count d'Artois for the seduction of the Swiss regiments, which he wished to have fanctioned by the Cantons.

Semonville, who had been appointed by Montmorin, was then at Genoa. After fome months residence in the neighbourhood, aided by his penetration, he had made himself perfectly acquainted with the views, the dispositions, and the intrigues, of the court of Turin. The king approved the choice which was made of him, without starting any objection whatever. Dumou-

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riez suspended the report which he was about to present to the assembly, and instantly sent off a courier to Semonville with instructions and orders, in consequence of which he was to repair instantly to Turin, in order to open a negotiation with dignity, cordiality, and promptitude, and to send him an answer as soon as possible.

Turin was considered as one of the family courts, and there existed among them certain reciprocal ceremonies relative to the nomination of ambassadours: they were first proposed to the court at which they were to reside before the appointment was confirmed. Such was the mode in the time of the old government. The minister was ignorant of it, and the king did not give him any information on the subject.

It has already been stated, that it was agreed upon to adopt this practice in respect to the republic of Venice, because that republic, on account of its sagacious neutrality, was deserving of every degree of respect. If Louis XVI had suggested this circumstance to his minister, he would have represented, "that such a condescension

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ought not to be shown to a court that exhibited such hostile views, and affected to consider him as a prisoner; that even if a similar conduct had prevailed previously to the revolution, it ought not to have been followed at present, when the business was to demand a categorical explanation from a power of the second order, and that his new quality as a representative of a free people ought not to diminish the dignity of his negotiations."

If the king at this period had refused to give his consent to the appointment of Semonville, Dumouriez would have presented the names of two or three other persons to him for his choice, but he never would have submitted so far as to have solicited the consent of a court which had given such occasion for discontent and uneasiness. But the silence of the king relative to the etiquette of which Dumouriez was ignorant, rendered all these observations unnecessary.

Semonville set off for Turin on the arrival of the messenger. That court being apprised beforehand of his appointment by the couriers belonging to the Thuilleries,

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adopted a violent measure, and, in opposition to the law of nations, caused the minister plenipotentiary of France to be arrested at Alexandria. This excess was committed under pretext of the danger arising from the factious spirit of Semonville, and he was accused of being the propagator of Jacobinism, and the agitator of all Italy. This affertion was not supported by any proof, and did not confer any right to seize on a man invested with a public character.

It is well known that in France the regent was content with dismissing the prince de Cellamare, ambassadour from Spain, although convicted of a conspiracy that cost the chevalier de Rohan and several nobles of Britanny and Normandy their lives. The marquis de Bedmar, ambassadour from Spain to Venice, had been treated with equal prudence by that wise republic, subsequent to the discovery of a horrible plot. The affront was formal, the excuse insufficient.

The court of Turin ought to have allowed Semonville to have completed his journey, to have delayed receiving him in

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the character of plenipotentiary, and to have fent a minister to France, entrusted with the complaints which it had to allege against him: such a proceeding would have rendered Louis XVI and his ministry blamable, if they had refused to recal him and nominate another, who was not obnoxious to any suspicion. It would then have been justified in its resusal of Semonville, and even in ordering him to leave the capital. The conduct adopted in the present instance was imprudent, injurious, and in exact opposition to the laws of nations.

The minister, with the king's own consent, ordered Semonville to return to Genoa, and broke off all correspondence with the court of Turin; he also withdrew his agent from that capital: but, in conformity to his old system, he permitted that court to act as it pleased relative to its representative at Paris. By this line of conduct, without debasing the French nation, and appearing to be content with the answer returned to the articles formerly transmitted to him, and which merely announced the desire of not interrupting

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interrupting the peace subsisting between Sardinia and France; he allowed the minister of the former power an opportunity of apologizing for the violence and temerity of his proceedings, and affected to believe that the affront received by Semonville was merely personal, and did not attach to his public character.

There was an eafy mode of indemnifying this plenipotentiary for the injury he had received, and of proving, at the same time, that the vague accusations of the court of Turin had not deprived him of the confidence of the king and the nation; this was to employ him in the embassy to Constantinople, a situation which he might afterwards exchange for another, according to the event of a war with the house of Austria.

The king having acquiesced in the appointment, the minister presented to the assembly all the papers relative to the late disagreement with the court of Turin. But he did not act in the same manner, on the present occasion, as when the rupture took place with the court of Vienna; he neither Y 4 requested

requested the king to appear in the assembly, nor produced any report, nor inferred any conclusion from the posture of affairs. This was not the result of weakness, but of system; he wished not to precipitate a second declaration of war, and indeed this did not take place during his administration. Notwithstanding the answer of the court of Turin, he still left this matter undecided; he however hastened the preparations on the side of Italy, and he pressed the formation of an army, which general Montesquiou was appointed to command.

The court of the Thuilleries and the Feuillans, who wished for nothing so much as to produce fresh troubles, represented this conduct at first as a bravado, and afterwards as an instance of weakness. The foolish people who at that time blamed the minister were either very dishonest, or very stupid; it was only necessary to wait three months, in order to determine, in consequence of the conquest of Savoy and Nice, on what side lay the imprudence, injustice, boasting, and imbecility.

The conduct of the court of Turin on this

this occasion was inexcusable. The king of Sardinia is a virtuous and moderate prince *; but he was misled by the erroneous policy and improvident conduct of his ministers, who ought to have avoided every pretext for a rupture, and who have never since taken any step to repair an injury committed against the law of nations.

They should have known, from their own personal experience, that in general leagues, the secondary powers always act disadvantageous parts. They are a burden to the great allies, who are obliged to pay by means of expensive subsidies for their very moderate services, which are often more embarrassing than useful. Whenever a peace is about to be negotiated, their petty interests are always neglected: happy, when they are not totally abandoned and sacrificed to the enemy!

^{*} He is also said to be a most superstitious and intolerant one, solely guided by priests; and this accounts in some measure for the gross impolicy of provoking a war with France. His son, the prince de Piedmont, who is represented as amiable, mild, and enlightened, always opposed this measure.—Trans.

The history of the house of Savoy, and of the little sovereignties of Italy, exhibits not only striking but parallel examples, at the conclusion of all treaties, of this political system of great governments, who always prove themselves very selfish, and that too at the expence of their weaker neighbours.

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CHAP. VI.

Schism in the Ministry.—The Affair of the Six Millions.

So long as Degraves was minister at war, Lacoste, Dumouriez, and he, being at the head of the three most important departments, and accustomed to support one another by their mutual esteem, friendship, and confidence, they had maintained the independence of the administration amidst the shock of contending factions; they were at the same time careful of the dignity of the king, giving him notice when the court was likely to involve him in any difficulties, and they often made use of the credit of the Girondists against the Feuillans, but without rendering the former the arbiters of public affairs, of which they never gave them any information but when when they were to be discussed by the affembly.

The appointment of Servan as minister at war in the course of a week dissolved that concord, which had hitherto reigned at the council board, because he attached himself intirely to madame Roland, whose house was converted into an office for the Gironde, and where the ministerial dinner, every Friday, became the dinner of a faction, as it was intended to subject the ministers to the counsels and the direction of that party.

Lacoste and Dumouriez having agreed not to converse any more about the affairs of their departments at these meetings, mentioned their intentions to Roland, endeavouring at the same time to make him sensible of the danger of such communications to the members of the assembly; the defect in point of secrecy, which sometimes, although but rarely, might be necessary; the dependence which it would produce in respect to these members themselves, and the rumours that would be circulated abroad to their detriment by such an appearance

of partiality. Roland was of a different opinion; he declared that he would not do any thing either relative to his own department, or the business before the council board, without the advice of his friends (and he might have added of his wife); and he became exceedingly reserved.

The faction of the Gironde, which at that time possessed the favour of the people, began, as well as Roland, Servan, and Claviere, to be very republican; it displayed much ill will against the two friends, who, faithful to the constitution, often took part with the king, whom the three coalesced ministers began to treat with much indecency.

Two circumstances contributed to embroil them intirely. At one of the Friday's dinners, for they had not as yet quarrelled publicly, Guadet read a long, very harsh, and insolent letter, which the fix ministers were supposed to write to Louis XVI, on purpose to oblige him to dismiss his non-juring confessor, and to take one who had subscribed the civic oath. This they were pressed to sign. Dumouriez easily demonstrated

the tyranny, the atrocity, and the absurdity, of this letter; he said that he would not put his signature to it, and Lacoste followed his example. Duranton observed, that it was at least useless. Vergniaud and Gensonné acknowledged that it was ill timed. Guadet was furious, and the conversation became very warm.

It was however at length withdrawn, but it was at the same time stated that another would be necessary. Dumouriez on this replied, that he would not permit any letter to be written to the king in the name of the council relative to the scruples of his conscience; he observed, that he might select an iman, a rabbi, a Papist, or a Calvinist, for his guide, without any person having a right to interfere, and that their signing it would be highly imprudent, as none of them, by the functions of his department, was entrusted with the direction of the king's conscience.

This proposition also was withdrawn, but in the newspapers under the influence of the Gironde, Dumouriez and Lacoste were next day accused of favouring the resistance of Louis XVI to the articles of the constitution, and that too in their most essential principles. The Jacobin journals repeated these follies, which tended not a little to irritate the people against the unfortunate monarch and his two ministers, who wished to spare him these mortifications. The king sighed, and thanked them. This was one of the moments in which he told Dumouriez, that he could submit to any thing except what concerned his conscience, and that, if he were reduced to such an extremity, he could submit to die.

The other circumstance was the nomination of the governor and commissioners for the island of St. Domingo. The Gironde wished to force Lacoste to consent to the choice of Sillery as governor. He had been a member of the constituent assembly. His character was sullied by his immoralities, although the latter part of his life proved very honourable; in short, there were a variety of motives which could be urged for his exclusion, as well in point of law, as in respect to circumstances.

As to the commissioners, they consisted

of the most furious Jacobins, and they had also rendered themselves notorious for their writings against the king; they have fince been fent on that very mission. Lacoste would not confent to this nomination, more especially as it was at the same time proposed, that their instructions should include certain incendiary projects. In order to accommodate matters, the old general D'Efparbès was proposed by the Girondists, and confented to by Lacoste; but the commisfioners were absolutely rejected. Dumouriez took part with his colleague, who being a man of great firmness, displayed much courage in his disputes with Clavières and Servan. From that moment the quarrel became public; the ministers no longer dined together, and never met except at the council board, or when a conference rendered this circumstance absolutely necessary.

The Gironde faction was irritated more particularly against Dumouriez, and had referved to itself a mode of revenge, of which he had no suspicion. It has been formerly mentioned, that it was this very party which had

had principally supported the demand made by him on his entrance into administration, of the sum of six millions for the secret service money of his department, under the express condition of not being obliged to give any account of the expenditure but to the king alone. It was the rage of the Feuillans at this proposition on the part of the new minister, that had induced the Girondists to support his request, in hopes of being afterwards able to govern him.

This affair had been regularly and minutely debated, more especially the express condition of not being subjected to any public account relative to the employment of the fum in question, a stipulation without which, the minister affirmed, that he would neither accept of the money nor the place. The confent of the affembly had been very decifive as to this article, and in consequence of this, a decree had been iffued which had received the king's fanction; a copy of it had been fent to the minister, who not suspecting that any falsity VOL. II. could \mathbf{z}

could take place in a case of this nature, had

He now found that this decree did not include the clause by which it was provided that the accounts should not be rendered public. He had never been able to difcover whether this omission proceeded from the Gironde, with a view to keep him in their own power, out of fear of the publication of the accounts, in respect to which he had displayed such an invincible repugnance, or whether it was merely an errour on the part of those who had drawn it up, as was often the cafe. Guadet, the most wicked and insolent of all that faction. was also the most violent against the minifter; he boafted that he would make the rebel tremble, by making use of this falle decree in order to carry a motion obliging him to render an account of the employment of the fix millions.

A circumstance relative to this same six millions of livres had augmented the wrath of the Gironde. The minister having been obliged to change the treasurer of the foreign

reign department, and not knowing any person in Paris whom he could entrust with that place, had asked Pethion and Clavieres to point out to him a banker that was at once respectable, faithful, and discreet; they had accordingly mentioned Biderman, a Swiss by nation, and a zealous revolutionist, who was employed by the municipality of Paris to purchase corn for it. He had accordingly conferred that place upon him.

He learned foon after, that he was in partnership with the minister Clavieres, and without the least distruct in respect to his probity, he had deemed it improper, even in point of delicacy, in addition to the fum of five hundred thousand livres a month, of which there was one half intended for fecret fervices, to place the fix millions also in his hands: he accordingly imagined it more prudent to leave this fum with Mr. Amelot, the keeper of the national treasury, refolving on his part not to draw out more than fifty thousand crowns at a time, which he caused to be brought to him, on purpose to pay the secret expenses, as occasion might require, without exposing the mystery

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never mentioned this arrangement to any one, and Biderman himself had not complained of it; but the Gironde, and especially Brissot, found themselves, in consequence of this precaution, excluded from the knowledge of his secret transactions, which vexed them exceedingly.

There was a great number of Impartialists, or of moderate and honest Girondists, Jacobins, and Feuillans, in the assembly, who had conceived a friendship for the minister; the indiscreet menaces on the part of Guadet had discovered the black injustice, which he had determined to exercise against him; they were sufficiently acquainted with his character to know that he would not yield; they considered Guadet's motion as dishonourable to the representative body; they perceived that it would attach much odium to it, and accordingly two or three of them came and informed him of the circumstance.

On this, having taken the decree out of his desk, he perceived, that, as it did not contain the clause precluding the publicity of the accounts, it of course subjected him to the exposure of them. He then caused it to be intimated to Gensonné and Vergniaud, that he would have nothing more to do with falsifiers, and he announced publicly that he was about to resign.

He had been more than seven weeks in place, and yet the sum taken from the six millions did not amount to more than two hundred thousand livres; but were he to have lost his head upon a scaffold, he was determined not have produced a detailed account of the expenditure.

He accordingly waited upon the king, laid before him the discussion in the assembly, and its decree, exhibited the decree in express contradiction to the former, begged him to accept of his resignation, and shewed him the sketch of a letter to the president of the assembly announcing his retreat. The king, who evinced the greatest sensibility, entreated him not to abandon him. The minister however represented to him, that, were he to suffer such an atrocity, he not only would be no longer of any service to

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him,

him, but would even involve him in his own perfonal dangers.

This prince had the more occasion for regret, as Lacoste, participating in the indignation of his colleague, and being unwilling to remain exposed alone to the violence of fo dangerous a faction, had just informed him that he wished his permission to retire along with his friend. Intelligence of this step, and of the motives which had induced him to it, being foon made known in the affembly, Dumouriez on his return home found more than a hundred members, many of whom were unknown to him, and also Pethion, the mayor of Paris, and the three ministers, who dreaded lest the king should take advantage of his refignation and that of Lacoste, to dismiss and renew the whole council. They accordingly pressed him to remain, told him that the accounts should not be demanded of him, and that Guadet should not proceed any further in this affair. He observed to them that his refolution was fixed. They conjured him in the name of his country to retain retain his place, and they befought him to write a letter to the president to demand the error might be rectified. His answer was as follows.

" It is neither fuitable to my delicacy nor the dignity of the affembly, that I should take such a step. You all recollect that, after a long discussion, you came to a resolution relative to the clause which I demanded. The decree in which it is omitted is a falfity. If you support the decree, you declare yourfelf falsisiers in the eyes of France and of all Europe; and you may eafily imagine, that in fuch a case I will have no manner of connection with you. If you, on the other hand, deem the decree erroneous, and the motion of Guadet difhonest, it belongs to you to compare your resolution with your decree, to repeal it, and to pass a true one, which will henceforth shelter me from such a species of affaffination.

"I dread outraging the honour of the affembly, if I provoke your justice by means of a written demand. I love my country as much as you do, and I have devoted my-

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felf to the duties of a very disagreeable station on account of the different factions by which I am perpetually assailed. I will however wait during two days for you to come to some resolution, and if you do not resolve upon something of your own accord, my part shall be then determined."

No fatisfactory reply could be made to fuch close arguments as these; they accordingly left him, and were very angry at Guadet, whom the ministers, and even the faction itself, found great difficulty in re-

ftraining.

On the next day a Jacobin, and an honest man, of the name of Couturier, as soon as there was a full assembly, pointed out the error in the decree. The Gironde was silent; the Feuillans, who supposed the minister would join them on purpose to revenge himself on account of this adventure, exclaimed against the dishonesty of the transaction; the secretaries excused themselves in the best manner they were able; the decree was repealed and cancelled; a new one, with the clause that had been omitted, was enacted; it was then carried to the king for his sanetion,

tion, and the greater part of the assembly waited upon and felicitated the minister, who a few days afterwards was greatly applauded on his going to the assembly about some of the affairs of his department, for he thought that it would be highly improper in him to thank them for rectifying a falsity.

The next day was a festival in honour of Simoneau, mayor of Etampes. The newspapers had represented the affair of Dumouriez very differently, according to the views of the several factions; the Parisians were acquainted with this circumstance, and, in passing through the square of Louis XV, an immense multitude testified by their plaudits the joy they experienced at seeing him assist at the ceremony in his capacity of minister. But the Girondists did not forget this adventure.

As to himself, notwithstanding the tender interest with which the situation of the unhappy king inspired him, he was miserable at perceiving that the public attachment had given a certain turn to this affair, which laid him under the indispensable necessity of retaining a place that, on account of the difagreement among the ministers, only filled him with difgust. Lacoste thought the same as he did, and both of them refolved not to remain long with three insupportable and factious men, who were the slaves of the Gironde, but to take a decided part on the very first opportunity that should occur.

It is doubtful whether there were ever two men more unfortunate, and less enamoured, than these two ministers, of two places equally important. Lacoste is a most virtuous man, greatly attached to his country, to the constitution, and to his king, who always did justice to his character. What has become of him? His unshaken virtue occasioned his illegal arrest. Perhaps, at the very moment when Dumouriez is writing these memoirs, at two hundred leagues distance from his native country, the honest Lacoste, his intimate friend, is no longer in existence! Perhaps the monsters have cut off, by means of their unjust guillotine, that head which was replete with the most profound knowledge relative to the department with which he was entrusted,

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and also with useful, honest, grand, and sage principles, which were constantly sounded on probity! He entered into the administration poor, and he left it destitute even of bread. May he read these memoirs in some retreat, where he is sheltered from those crimes at which he has so often sighed!

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C H A P. VII.

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Dismission of Roland, Servan, and Clavières.

THE three ministers no longer kept any terms, not only with their colleagues, but even with the king himself. At every meeting of the council they abused the good nature of that prince on purpose to mortify and torture his feelings; this constantly produced disputes, because the two others, and even Duranton, notwithstanding his neutrality, always took the part of the unfortunate Louis, and treated their three factious and imprudent colleagues with great feverity. But what was still more vexatious, Roland paid the expenses of several newspapers, and among others, The Thermometer, which were composed in his own house, and retailed an account of all the business brought before the council in such a manner

a manner as to render his two colleagues, and especially the king, unpopular.

At the commencement of the adminiftration, and when they were united together, all the fix ministers had agreed, that to introduce order into their proceedings, and shelter them from responsibility, it was necessary to defire the king to appoint a fecretary to the council, as was required by a constitutional decree, who was to keep an exact register of all the business that came before it. Louis had always obstinately refused to acquiesce, and the ministry, then united among themselves, and penetrated with regard for that prince, had infifted no further, but contented themselves with taking notes relative to the affairs discussed, and their decision upon them.

The moment the schism took place, the three ministers demanded, in an absolute and arrogant tone, that the king should nominate a secretary to the council. Louis XVI begged Lacoste and Dumouriez to oppose this proposition, because it was assuredly made by their colleagues, on purpose to lay open all the deliberations of the council to

the inspection of their faction, a circumstance which would place them in the most humiliating dependence upon them. The two ministers, feeling the justice of this obfervation, promifed to remain firm, and fulfilled this engagement, notwithstanding the accusations of aristocracy lavished upon them by the Girondists, the Jacobins, and the journalists. The king told them, if the day should arrive, when he had no longer three fuch indifcreet, dangerous, and factious men in his council, that he would instantly nominate any person whom they might point out as fecretary, and that a regifter should be kept, because he himself perceived the necessity of it.

An affair still more important than this divided the council, and brought on the catastrophe. Servan, a man of a bad disposition, and a great enemy to the king, took upon himself, without either consulting his colleagues, or mentioning the circumstance either to his majesty or the council, to write to the president of the national assembly, and propose a decree for assembling and encamping twenty thousand men in the neighbourhood

bourhood of Paris; to fix the epoch of the federation of the fourteenth of July for that purpose, and to establish a central and permanent army, under the specious pretext of maintaining the tranquillity of Paris, and protecting the labours of the national affembly. It was at this epoch that the faction of the Gironde was in the plenitude of its power, having the Jacobins under its command, being mafters of Paris by means of Pethion, influencing the affembly, and having a majority in the council.

This faction wished to destroy, perhaps by the fword, its enemies the Feuillans, to humble the court, and peradventure to commence the execution of its republican project. It was accordingly this party that first brought to Paris those very federates, who at length made them perish on that scaffold, where the unfortunate Louis suffered before them.

The Feuillans warmly opposed this decree; the Girondists and the Jacobins uniting together carried along with them the Impartialists, who, timid, suspicious, perceiving ariflocrats every where, and not re-CIEVICIOS

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flecting on the danger of such an assemblage, hoped to find their safety in an armed force, which, by whatever hand it was directed, would not fail to be eave them of their liberty.

Dumouriez opposed this motion with all his might, as well in council as in the committees, but in vain. Servan would never have proposed it to the council, if Dumouriez, the moment he was informed of it, had not demanded of him whether he had received the king's orders on this subject. This he confessed he had not.

"Have you consulted your colleagues," added he, "relative to an affair that may be productive of such serious consequences?" Servan still acknowledged that he had not, and observed that it was in his quality of a private individual, and a citizen, that he deemed it proper to propose a motion which appeared useful to him. "If it were as a private citizen, why did you annex to your signature the title of minister at war?" The dispute on this became so warm, that, had it not been for the presence of the king, blood would have been spilt.

Clavieres

Clavieres proposed a perfidious accommodation, which was, that Servan should withdraw his motion. Dumouriez and Lacoste perceived the atrocity of this snare, which would have thrown all the blame upon the king, and rendered the assembly still more eager to accede to the proposition. They did not conceal their indignation. The motion remained as before, the quarrel in the council, which was discovered, occasioned still more bitterness than ever, and the national assembly passed the decree for establishing a camp of twenty thousand sederates in the neighbourhood of Paris, on the 14th of July.

The king was reduced to a state of consternation; he avowed his fears to Dumouriez, and told him that he was resolved to
exercise his veto against this law. His minister however made him perceive, that, being
destitute of any force, subjected to the suspicions of the greater part of the nation,
the rage of the Jacobins, and the prosound
policy of the republican party, he would be
left without any possible resource; and that
they waited only for such a step on his side,

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to declare an open war against him, in which he would assuredly be overcome.

Louis kept the decree in his closet, and four councils were held without its being produced for deliberation. The assembly became impatient, the Jacobins were clamorous, the Girondists triumphed. At length Louis presented the decree. Dumouriez, who was the oldest member of the council, then spoke as follows.

"Sire, those who have solicited this decree are equally the enemies of their country and their king. It can produce nothing short of the greatest evils. If we but refer to circumstances, the minister at war is very culpable in having solicited an assemblage of twenty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Paris, at the time when our armies are feeble, our frontiers unfurnished with troops, and that there is not even a sufficient fund for the maintenance of those already in arms.

"If we again confider the present spirit of the nation, this minister has also been exceedingly imprudent in proposing in the immediate neighbourhood of the national assembly and and the king, the reunion of an undifciplined multitude, convoked under a name that exaggerates its patriotism, and of which the first ambitious man may take advantage.

" Two great factions divide both the affembly and Paris, those of the Girondists and Feuillans: a third, that of the Jacobins, which at prefent acts but a subordinate part, will foon annihilate them both; because it is far more numerous and more turbulent than the other two, because its branches extend throughout the whole kingdom, and because, in short, out of these twenty thoufand federates, which the minister is about to affemble in virtue of this decree, nineteen thousand at least will be Jacobins. Thus the promoters of the decree will be ruined by it.

"I think then that this decree is dangerous for the nation, for the king, for the national affembly, and more than all for the authors of it, to whom it will prove a chastisement; and yet, notwithstanding all this, it is still my opinion, fire, that you cannot refuse to fanction it. It has been provoked by profound

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found malice, it has been debated with great bitterness, it has been carried with enthufiasm, and all the world is blinded by it. If you oppose it with your veto, it will nevertheless be carried into effect. In the place of twenty thousand men assembled by virtue of a law, and who may be consequently subjected to regulations, at the epoch of the federation which is now fast approaching, forty thousand men will arrive from the provinces, without any decree; and these may overturn the constitution, the assembly, and the throne.

"The minister ought to discover in this picture the enormity of his own imprudence, it belongs to your council to propose an expedient to render this assemblage less dangerous. I have conceived certain ideas on this subject, which I shall detail in writing, and communicate to your majesty at a proper time."

The three ministers, and more especially Servan, were frightened at this prediction; and certain it is, had it not been too late, the decree would never have passed. The Gironde, to whom they communicated what

what had been said at the council board, were also alarmed, and they entreated Dumouriez to communicate the expedient suggested by him for rendering it less dangerous. In the mean time the six ministers conjured the king to sanction the decree. To this he replied, that he would take a few days to consider on the subject, and then inform them of his ultimate resolutions.

The fafety of the throne of this unfortunate monarch was deeply interested in this decree, which occasioned so much evil. feemed to be preordained, that a variety of vexatious circumstances should occur to him at the fame time. In the course of that very week another decree was presented to him, which was in direct opposition to his religious principles: that of the transportation or imprisonment of the priests who had refused to subscribe the civic oath. This prince possessed a very scrupulous conscience, and this inspired him with great courage relative to fuch matters as concerned religion. Dumouriez has never been able to conceive how he was induced in

oath to the priests, which has occasioned all the religious troubles, a civil war, and, in short, the destruction of public worship. This prince produced the second decree at the council board, and at the same time observed, that nobody should ever prevail upon him to fanction it.

Dumouriez addressed him as follows:

"Sire, you have fanctioned the decree relative to the oath imposed upon the clergy, it was that to which you ought to have opposed your veto; had I been then a member of your council, I would have entreated you, at the risk of my life, to have refused your fanction to it. That first decree has engendered all the dangers and all the evils of France. The present is the only political remedy that can be applied to it; it is harsh, but it is not cruel; if you choose maturely to weigh all the articles, you will perceive that it contains modifications, which render it supportable.

"The first was a religious law, and it attacked the liberty of the king in religious matters; the present is a political law,

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which only concerns the fafety and the tranquillity of the kingdom. It forms indeed the fole furety of the nonjuring priefts, against the fury of persecution. Far from faving them by your veto, you will deprive them of the affiftance of a law; you will expose them to the danger of being massacred, and the French to the diffrace of being their executioners: it is therefore my opinion, that, having committed what I dare to term the fault of fanctioning the decree relative to the oath prescribed to the priests, which has produced enormous evils, if you apply your veto to this fecond decree, which may stop the deluge of blood now about to flow, your conscience will be burdened with all the crimes, which the people may commit in consequence of your present refufal."

The king once more told them, that he would reflect on this subject, and then communicate his intentions. This was the only day on which Dumouriez perceived the temper of this pure and mild monarch to be a little soured. To complete his chagrin, Roland, who wished to provoke him, ob-

stinately persisted in reading a long letter at the next council, which he had addressed to his majesty. It began with nearly these words. "Sire, this letter shall remain an eternal secret between you and me."

He entered into the most injurious and bitter details, some of them true, and others exaggerated, relative to the conduct observed by Louis subsequently to the slight to Varennes; he treated him as a perjured prince, spoke about his confessor, his body guards, the imprudent conduct of the queen, the intrigues of the court, and the frequent couriers that were dispatched to Vienna and Coblentz.

He then came to the two decrees fo recently under confideration, pressed him without any ceremony to sanction them, and threatened, in case of refusal, to give in his resignation, and to awaken the nation relative to its dangers, by declaring his motives.

The king listened with an admirable patience to this impudent libel, and replied with the greatest coolness: "Mr. Roland, it is now three days since you transmitted

your letter to me; it was therefore useless to read it before the council, as it was to have remained known only to ourselves."

On the morning of the succeeding day Dumouriez was summoned to the castle. He found the king in his apartment, and the queen along with him, who instantly said:

"Do you think, fir, that the king ought any longer to endure the menaces and the infolence of Roland, and the impostures of Servan and Clavieres?"

"No, madam; I myself am filled with indignation; I admire the king's patience, and I dare to supplicate him to change the whole of the administration: let him dismiss all the six ministers, and choose men who shall not be considered as belonging to any party."

"Such is not my intention," replied Louis; "I wish that you, Lacoste, and that honest man Duranton, should remain. Do me the favour however to ease me of these three factious and insolent men, for my patience is entirely exhausted."

"The thing is dangerous, fire; but I am ready

ready to carry it into execution. I shall propose to you certain conditions; but in the mean time you must permit me to infift on my first proposition. I am hated by the three factions that divide the affembly and the capital. All the newspapers abuse me; I am rendered entirely unpopular; it is only by means of the public opinion that a man can govern to advantage, and this is no longer on my fide; I cannot in reality be hereafter useful to you; perhaps indeed the hatred, that is now testified against me, may prove hurtful to your majesty. Reflect on this, fire; it will be faid of the three ministers who remain in place, that they are become aristocrats and conspirators. I am of opinion, that is it better for us to retire with the others. I will also add. with that frankness which becomes a duty more especially in such dangerous times, that Lacoste and myself are immoveably fixed in favour of the constitution."

The queen on this appeared to be chagrined: the minister's eyes were fixed on her: when the king said:

"I am well acquainted with your principles,

ciples, and I know that the constitution ought to be obeyed. For this purpose it is necessary, that you should remain in the council. Make haste and nominate three new ministers to me."

"I had the honour to tell you, fire, that I was about to propose certain conditions to you. They are as follows: fanction the two decrees, and appoint a secretary to the council on the same day you nominate your three ministers."—" That cannot be," replied the king.

The queen also exclaimed against the hardness of the conditions. "They are necessary for your safety," said the minister; and then turning towards her majesty, he conjured her in the tenderest manner to bethink herself of the fate of the king and of her children, and to join her influence to his. After this he repeated all the arguments which he had used with his majesty in the presence of the council, and he added: "If I deemed the sanction proper before the king expressed to me his just desire of getting rid of the three sactious men who torment

torment him, think how indispensably necessary I must suppose it at present. If the king apply his veto under the prefent circumstances, the three ministers will appear to be the victims of their patriotism, and I will not answer, but that the most violent extremities may be recurred to, which in a few days may perhaps bereave you of your crown. As to myself, I forewarn your majesty, that I cannot act contrary to my principles. I really think in the same manner as these three men relative to the propositions in question. I can also assure you, that Lacoste and Duranton do the same; I know not what they may refolve upon on the present occasion, but as to myself, even should I be unfortunate enough to displease you, I feel myself obliged to declare, that I will not remain in the council if your majesty do not sanction the two decrees."

The king was at first vexed, and Dumouriez was about to leave the apartment, when the queen called him back and said: "Think, sir, how hard it is for the king to sanction fanction a decree, which will bring twenty thousand rogues to Paris, perhaps to massacre him."

" Madam, there is no manner of occafion to exaggerate the danger. The decree fays, that the executive power shall point out the place where these twenty thousand men, who are not rogues, are to be collected. It also says, that the minister at war shall be charged with the appointment of their officers, and shall fix the mode of their organisation. It will be necessary that the minister about to be chosen by the king should pitch upon Soissons, as the place where they are to be affembled, and that he should nominate a lieutenant general who is a man of resolution, and two good major generals, to command them. These men must be formed into battalions; the moment that five or fix have been affembled and armed, the minister will comply with the requisitions of the generals, and fend them to one of the three armies, and thus a decree conceived with bad intentions, far from being hurtful, will prove highly falutary."-" But are you fure of being able to obtain obtain permission for assembling them at Soissons?"

" I will answer for it."

"In that case," said the king, at the same time becoming more cheerful, "it will be necessary, that you yourself should take upon

you the war department."

"Sire, I have at present only a slight and indirect responsibility in the department of foreign affairs; that of the war department is direct, and the sums to be accounted for amount to more than four or five hundred millions; your generals too are my enemies, and I shall be charged with their errours. But as this measure is connected with the safety of your majesty, your august family, and the constitution, I will not hesitate. You will then agree to sanction the decree for the twenty thousand men?"

"Yes, most willingly, if you be minister at war, as in that case I shall intirely confide in you."

"There is no longer any difficulty, then, fire about the fecretary to the council? either choose yourself a person who possesses your considence.

confidence, or consult with Mr. de La Porte."—" Very well. I will speak to him on this subject, and you can settle the matter together."

" Let us now come to the decree relative to the priefts."

" Oh! I cannot yet determine on that point."

"You have laid yourself under the necessity, sire, of sanctioning this, by having sanctioned the former."

" I committed a great fault on that occasion, for which I reproach myself."

"Sire, if you do not fanction this decree, the fecond fault will be still greater than the first, for you will then apply the poniard to the throat of these unhappy priests."

The queen acknowledged that the minifter was in the right, and supported his opinion. The king was violently agitated. Dumouriez pressed him in the most earnest manner, observing at the same time, that this second fanction was absolutely necessary for obtaining what he desired. At length this prince, after having displayed the

the utmost repugnance, promised to give his assent.

There was a council that very night. The three ministers were more insolent and more violent than ever; they pressed the king in a very rough manner, either to give or to refuse his fanction, threatening in the latter case to resign instantly.

There was so little secrecy observed in the palace, that at the expiration of six hours it was whispered all over Paris, that Dumouriez had changed parties, and that more than twenty Feuillans had presented themselves at his door, on purpose to pay their respects to him. The council was very short; the king dissolved it with temper and dignity, and wrote a note to Dumouriez in the course of the same evening, in which he entreated him to propose three new ministers.

Dumouriez went to the castle next morning, and proposed to the king to replace Roland, minister of the home department, by Morgues de Montpellier, a protestant, and a good citizen, replete with knowledge

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knowledge and genius, who had been employed in forming a land-register of France, who was a member of several academies, and who had drawn up some very excellent and constitutional memoirs relative to the revolution. He had belonged to the club of 1789, and afterwards to that of the Feuillans, whence he had withdrawn. He possessed great honesty, much simmess of character, and uncommon facility in business: he was accepted.

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He suggested for the office of foreign affairs, either Emanuel de Maulde, who had been a moderate Jacobin, or Semonville, or Naillac, minister at the court of Deux-Ponts, who was absolutely neutral, having been but a very short time at Paris. The king preferred Naillac.

Vergennes, nephew of the former minister of the same name, who had always been an impartial and constitutional man; but he at the same time informed the king, that he had rejected the offer, as well as Amelot, Lasontaine, and several others. The king instantly sent for Vergennes, who, with Vol. II. Bb tears

tears in his eyes, absolutely refused to undertake the office, although he at the same time displayed the greatest attachment to his majesty.

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It was at length agreed, that this department, which was the least important, should remain vacant, so that time might be given to make proper choice, and that Morgues, minister of the home department, should be entrusted with it; in the same manner as Dumouriez was with that of foreign affairs, until the arrival of Naillac, to whom he had dispatched a courier.

On the morning of the 13th of June, the three factious ministers received a letter announcing their dismission, and in the evening the council assembled. The four ministers, to whom he had rendered an account of the conditions on which this change had taken place, agreed among themselves, that if the king, after obtaining what he had so ardently desired, should change his mind relative to the sanction, and resuse to grant it, they would deliver in their resignations in a body, that they might not be accused of this errour, which would ruin the

royal family, and pass for intriguing and ambitious men, who had facrificed their principles to their advancement. This reproach would have particularly attached to Dumouriez, who at this time was considered as prime minister: therefore, whatever part his colleagues might choose to act, he himself was determined not to remain in place, if the king should employ his veto. Alas! this unfortunate prince was but too much missed by his false friends; he broke his word, and he was undone!

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CHAP. VIII.

Dumouriez Minister at War.

To avoid confusion in this narrative, Dumouriez will here enumerate his labours in the new department he had just taken, during the four days that he fulfilled its functions. Never did any man enter into office under more disadvantages, or with a greater probability of remaining but a short time in administration; for at the end of the very first day he was almost fure of being forced to refign, and on the fecond he actually gave in his refignation. Any other person in his fituation would have remained inactive: but he at least wished to render the fervice to his fucceffor, whoever he might be, of restoring order and confidence to his office, on purpose to foften the rigours of fo painful an employment. He was defirous

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firous also, before he quitted the administration, to infuse some dignity into an employment, which, although subjected to great responsibility, was yet liable to be mortisted by the rudeness and petulance of the committees, which carried on a correspondence with each minister, or the national assembly itself.

During the night of the 13th he composed a memorial on the war department, which he read to the assembly; he will render an account in the next chapter of the turbulent scene produced by it. This memorial has been since frequently printed and consulted, and the impression of it, for which the Jacobins and Girondists sirst moved, on purpose to convert it into an article of accusation against him, has proved his best justification, since men's minds have become calm, and have weighed the striking facts it contains, in a dispassionate manner.

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In this memorial he reproached the legiflators with having in the course of a fortnight voted the levy of two hundred and forty thousand men, and that too in such a

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manner, that it was impossible to execute the decree passed for that purpose. He faid, that whenever the minister at war, or of the marine, proposed raising a body of troops, or fitting out an armament, he ought at the same time to give in an estimate of the expenses; and added, that the national affembly should never enact a law for this purpose, until it had examined the estimate, and provided by a second decree the necessary funds, which were to be at the disposal of the minister, and subjected to his responsibility: that by this mode of proceeding they would be fure of having troops, whereas at prefent they had only a vague decree, and no funds for its execution : fo that the nation, calculating the number of its forces according to the tenour of decrees never carried into effect, was deceived.

He then observed, that, in order to proceed with prudence, a new levy ought never to be made before the old regiments were completed, and that the battalions of the infantry of the line ought to be increased to eight hundred men each. On purpose

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to attain that number, they had been obliged to throw the greater part of the fecond into the first battalions, so that the former confifted of no more than three or four hundred rank and file; thus, there were only one hundred and five battalions fit for fervice, instead of two hundred and ten, of which we should have been possessed, had they begun by decreeing, that the infantry of the line should be completed; which would have produced a hundred and feventy thousand regular and well organised troops, whereas now we had only a moiety of that number.

Eighty-three battalions of national volunteers had been formed in the same manner, in 1791, which did not contain more than five hundred and fixty-four men apiece, including officers. As these should be placed on the same footing with the infantry of the line, he faid, that they ought to have ordered them to be augmented with three hundred men to each battalion, before they decreed the creation of one hundred and twenty new battalions of national volunteers; fo that this levy might not prove

B b 4 detrimental detrimental to the completion of the eightythree battalions. In short, if they had completed the two hundred and ten battalions of infantry, and the eighty-three battalions of national volunteers, we should have had a body of good infantry, consisting of two hundred and thirty-four thousand men, which would have been sufficient.

He made use of the same arguments relative to the artillery, the cavalry, and the garrisons. He wished that the artillery and cavalry should be augmented to the full amount of the war establishment, and subjected to the old regulations. There were at that period fixty-eight regiments of horse, which, if completed to eight hundred each, would have given a total of fifty-four thoufand, instead of which, there did not exist one half of that number; and as to the plan decreed by them of fending a man from each brigade of the ancient maréchausée, then termed gendarmerie nationale, it would deprive the departments of their protection against robbers and seditious persons, and afford, at the utmost, a reinforcement of only two or three thousand very expensive cavalry,

cavalry, without either unifon or utility, because they were unaccustomed to fight in squadrons. As to the two new bodies of artillery, he stated, that they could not be fit for action immediately on their being levied, and therefore were useless. He afterwards took a survey of the corps of commissaries of war, the public officers, the contracts, and the establishments, and he threw out hints concerning them all.

He began and terminated his memorial with animadversions on the factions, and the respect due to the ministers. All this was very badly received, but he expected as much. The members of the military committee accused him of publishing a severe fatire on his predecessor and themselves, merely because he denounced abuses, and more especially the deplorable state of the garrisons, which they had always announced to the assembly as being in a formidable state of defence.

By way of answer to this imputation, he transmitted to the committee the returns which he had received from every one of these places, and he demanded that commis-

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fioners should be sent to verify these returns, and deliver in an account of the result to the assembly,

They accused him also of imprudence, and almost of treason, because his memorial, while it discovered the weakness of the armies and of the fortifications, at the fame time indicated to our enemies the points in which they ought to attack us. He replied to this, that it was not his fault, if the public mode of treating all affairs excluded the possibility of secrecy; that it would be still more dangerous to lull the nation into a false security, by means of lying reports, and decrees that could not be carried into execution; that our enemies were equally well acquainted with our weakness as we ourselves; and that the proof they were not in a lituation to profit by it was demonstrated by the fact itself, that they had not done fo, notwithstanding the shameful commencement of the war: they had therefore still time to repair the evil by a methodical application of the refources of France.

The rock, on which the minister of war was

was most likely to be shipwrecked, was his responsibility in respect to his accounts, which amounted to feveral hundred millions. The most frightful part of this refponsibility, and that by which it was impossible that even an honest minister at war should not be easily ruined, was the article of contracts. Degraves had sheltered himfelf as much as possible by the establishment of a central committee, which, without sharing his responsibility, yet diminished the weight of it, because no contract could be concluded without being examined and ratified by that committee. Servan, more audacious than his predecessour, had not employed the central committee for this purpose, but struck all the bargains with the contractors themselves in his own closet.

In consequence of the regulations laid down by Dumouriez, the inspection of the central committee was re-established, and he at the same time adopted a measure which prevented ministerial responsibility: in consequence of this all suture contracts were to be sent to the chief commissary of the department of Paris, in order to be put up to auction at the town house, in presence of the municipality, after having been determined upon by the minister at war and his central committee.

This fame committee was also at the end of every week to examine the labours of the first clerks of the different offices in the war department. He divided the office for the management of the money concerns into two parts, to facilitate the accounts. In confequence of these regulations, the first clerks resumed their confidence; they were all confidered as fo many aristocrats; they however proved themselves but too great democrats during the infurrection at Verfailles. He wrote to all the generals; and disclosed his opinion to them respecting the species of warfare which they ought to adopt; he at the same time exhorted Luckner, who had fucceeded Rochambeau, topush forward the expedition against the Low Countries with the utmost vigour. He ordered all the regiments in the neighbourhood of Paris to march and reinforce his army, and during these three days, in addition to his regulations which were not adopted,

adopted, he figned his name upwards of fifteen hundred times to official papers. It will be feen in the following chapter, that his activity was fo much the more meritorious, as this fhort period was uncommonly tumultuous.

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CHAP, IX.

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Dumouriez refigns.

IT is necessary for Dumouriez to resume the thread of his narrative from the moment of his nomination. The aristocrats and Feuillans at first triumphed with their usual imprudence. As he did not expect to remain in office, he did not choose to change his place of refidence; they accordingly ran in shoals to the office for foreign affairs, to felicitate him. They also affected to report, that he had gone over to their party, while the Girondists and the Jacobins, on the other hand, exhibited symptoms of the most violent rage, and talked of fending him to Orleans as a traitor. As to himself, he was foon undeceived in his hopes of being able, at one and the same time. to achieve the preservation of his king and the

the fafety of his country; he did not regret having delivered this unhappy prince from the three factious men who had tormented him, but he faw with forrow, that, from that very day, he made an ill use of this circumstance.

During the council held that evening, the four ministers told the king, that it was necessary he should immediately fulfil his promife, before the factions had time to work on the minds of the people, else he would not have any merit in giving his fanction, as it would then be confidered as proceeding folely from fear. His majesty, without precifely avowing that he had altered his mind, adjourned the confideration of this subject until next day, and announced an extraordinary council at one. From that moment the four ministers began to distrust him, and renewed the promife they had made to refign in a body, if they were not gratified in respect to the sanction, on the fucceeding day, which was the fourteenth. There was a great deal of ill humour on both fides, and the king and his ministers

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separated with an appearance of reserve, that augured a finister termination.

On the 14th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, Dumouriez waited on the king, who had jnst written to the president of the affembly, to notify the dismission of the three ministers, and the appointment of their fuccessours. The minister seized the opportunity of being alone with him, to conjure his majesty once more to be faithful to his promise. Louis, in opposition to the character which he had exhibited during three months, diffembled, and even went fo far as to fay, that the ecclefiaftics, whom he had confulted, were of the same opinion with himself. He left the king, in order to present himself to the assembly, and read his memorial: he expected a storm, but he did not foresee the incident that occurred.

The appearance of the new minister in the assembly was expected. The Feuillans had agreed, whatever might occur, to preserve the most profound silence. The Jacobins had filled the galleries with their satellites. The Girondists had prepared

pared a theatrical stroke, which they expected to produce a great effect. Soon after ten o'clock in the morning they had contrived to introduce the three disgraced ministers into the hall, under pretence of their rendering an account of the motives of their dismission; and they were accordingly received as the victims of aristocracy, and the martyrs of the good cause.

Roland had been base enough to read his letter to the king; that letter which was to have been an eternal secret between the monarch and himself. This was actually pointing poniards at the breast of this unhappy prince. Each phrase of this imprudent composition was accompanied with the plaudits of enthusiasm; and, that the desire of vengeance might have a wider range, it was decreed that it should be printed, and transmitted to the eighty-three departments. They swore to ruin the ambitious minister, who wished to re-establish tyranny; and the base persidy of Roland passed for an act of heroism.

It was under these auspices that Dumouriez entered the hall. In the midst of con-Vol. II. C c fused fused cries and ferocious howlings, occafioned by his presence, he heard the decree pronounced, which commanded the publication and transmission of Roland's letter to the eighty-three departments.

As the revolution, however cruel it has fince become, has not yet intirely fwept away the numerous spectators at this very indecent fitting, he may affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the fole emotion experienced by him was that of indignation. He coolly demanded leave to speak, and began by announcing the death of general Gouvion. "This brave man is happy," faid he, "to have died fighting against our enemies, and not to have been a witness of our frightful discord. I envy his lot-." This afflicting intelligence proved fomewhat ferviceable, by diverting their minds to a new object. They deliberated on what manner the affembly ought to testify its regret to the family of the deceased, and it was decided that the prefident should address a letter of condolence to it.

The minister then once more demanded leave

leave to speak: but the moment that he had read the title "memorial relative to the war department," the Gironde and the Jacobins began to howl, on purpose to prevent him from proceeding. But as every assembly is curious, more especially when it is composed of Frenchmen, the noise at length ceased.

The exordium to this memorial related to the factions, and the respect due to ministers. Guadet cried out with a voice of thunder: "Do you hear him? he already thinks himself so certain of his power that he pretends to give us advice!"

"And why not?" replied, the minister, at the same time turning towards the mountain. This bold reply astonished even the most furious. He continued to read, and was often interrupted by their clamours, but at two different places, it was forgotten that every part of his memorial ought to be condemned as detestable, and universal applause ensued. The Feuillans enjoyed the whole in silence.

When he had concluded, a member of the military committee called Lacuée, af-C c 2 cended cended the rostrum to contradict all the calumnies of the minister: on this he pretended to put his memorial into his pocket, as if he had meant to carry it with him. The Girondists perceived it; one of them exclaimed, that he wished to run away with his papers, and that it would be proper to prevent him, as they would ferve towards his conviction. He then took the memorial coolly out of his pocket, and delivered it to one of the doorkeepers, and he to a fecretary, who cried out, " This paper is not figned!" " Let him fign it! let him fign it!" exclaimed they with fury. A pen and fome ink was brought to him; he then affixed his fignature to it; on which the doorkeeper wanted to take hold of it again, but he made a fign with his hand, rose with great gravity, went and placed the memorial with a very haughty air on the table. traversed the whole length of the hall with a flow pace, and went out by the principal door, which was immediately below the mountain, furveying his enemies at the same time with great fierceness. True courage is always fure to impose on the multitude.

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There was not a fingle hifs, or word, or groan, now heard. His departure was accompanied with the utmost filence, and the people precipitated themselves from the galleries and corridors of the hall, that they might have a nearer view of him. He was completely surrounded at the door of the Feuillans, but he did not perceive the least expression of anger visible on a single countenance. Three or four deputies sallied forth after him, pressed through the crowd, and said with emotion: "They are playing the devil within; they wish to send you to Orleans."

"So much the better," replied he in a calm tone of voice, "I shall then be able to enjoy the baths and drink whey, and also have time to repose myself." These few words affected the people, and several persons repeated eulogiums on him aloud.

He then entered into the garden of the Tuilleries with the deputies, and as they walked about, he faid to them: "The printing of this memorial is an errour on the

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part of my enemies, that will restore the confidence of all good citizens to me. At present, while you are both mad and foolish, you have extolled to the skies an infamous piece of treachery committed by Roland."

He afterwards went to the castle, where the king applauded his firmness, and apprized him, that it had disconcerted the Gironde, and that the assembly had passed to the order of the day relative to their madheaded propositions. The council commenced, and the king then told them plainly, that he would consent to give his sanction to the decree concerning the twenty thousand men, but that he could not think of complying with that respecting the priests.

The four ministers spoke to him, the one after the other, with a respectful boldness, and predicted his ruin. He replied, that he had made up his mind on this subject, and then read the copy of a letter to the president. He afterwards spoke as follows: "I will entrust you to-morrow with this letter; reslect on it; one of you must countersign

it, and you must go with it in a body to the assembly." Never did Louis speak in so imperative a tone before.

Nothing could have a nearer refemblance to the old government, and nothing was ever less besitting constitutional ministers, responsible and entrusted with the considence of a free nation. Dumouriez coolly asked the king, if he had any more commands for them. "No!" replied the prince, much embarrassed at the hasty conduct, which his false friends had induced him to pursue; and he immediately retired with an appearance of consustion.

On the breaking up of the council, the ministers reassembled, and resolved to write to the king, to demand a private audience on the ensuing morning. They agreed that they should not enter into any explanation, all their arguments on this subject having been already exhausted, but that they should supplicate him for leave to retire.

In the mean time the Jacobins, and the Girondists, as well as Pethion, the mayor of Paris, were displaying the utmost activity,

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by means of their emissaries, to agitate the people in the suburbs of St. Antoine. Dumouriez instantly wrote a note to the king to announce this intelligence, which was actually true, although no commotion then took place, the effect being retarded by the events of the next and succeeding days. The king undoubtedly communicated this letter to his treacherous counsellors, who persuaded him that it was a falsehood, broached with a view to frighten him; perhaps they went so far as to affirm it to be a persidious plot hatched by the minister himself.

During these three or four days, he no longer recognised a single trace of the mild and confiding character of Louis, who returned him for answer: "Do not think, Sir, that I am to be terrified by menaces; my resolution is fixed."

He fighed at this errour, and he wrote to the king as follows: "Sire, you know but little of me, if you deem me capable of having recourse to such unworthy means. My colleagues and myself desire that you would have the goodness to receive us to-

morrow

morrow at ten o'clock in the morning. I befeech your majesty to appoint a successour who may be able to replace me, within twenty-four hours, on account of the urgency of business in the war department, and also to accept of my resignation." He entrusted this important note to Bonne-Carrère, that he might be certain of receiving an answer, which arrived at midnight. It was as follows: "I will see my ministers at ten o'clock to-morrow, and we shall then speak about the subject of your letter."

At the moment when the minister received the first note from the king, and while he wrote another in answer to it, there were four deputies along with him in his closet, viz. Rouillé, Lacroix, Herault, and Delmas, belonging to the Impartialists, who were intirely ignorant of what was passing, and even believed him on extreme good terms with his majesty: he read to them the billet which he had just written, the particulars of which being circulated, opened the eyes of all the Impartialists of the assembly, who then began to perceive that the minister was neither a traitor nor

an ambitious man, and this henceforth prejudiced them not a little against the party
of the Gironde. He at the same time took
occasion to reproach them on account of
the plaudits which they had lavished on
the persidious conduct of Roland, who by
reading and publishing his letter, basely
laboured to provoke the assassing and to
direct their poniards against the bosom of
the unfortunate Louis.

In the course of that night he received a visit of a very different kind. He had been acquainted during the space of thirty years with a man of great talents, who was initiated in all the mysteries of the Feuillans, and who, under pretence of business, had obtained several private interviews, during which, as he knew that he had quarrelled with the Gironde and his three colleagues, he repeatedly endeavoured to induce him to join that faction; but he had always replied in the negative.

At this last meeting he threw off the mask, and affecting to be deeply interested in his safety, he addressed him in these words: "I no longer come, my friend, to make

make you propositions in the name of our party. You are ruined if you do not throw yourself into our arms; this is your last resource, and we will support you. You will be the victim of all parties, if you do not consent to-morrow to act a vigorous part, which I know how to turn to your advantage."

"What is this vigorous part?" faid the minister, at the same time smiling.

"It is to make haste to countersign the letter with your own hand which the king is desirous you should present to the president, lest another anticipate you, and acquire all the merit of it. In that case, we will accommodate the dispute between you and Lasayette, who is coming to Paris expressly for the purpose of criminating you. This is the last advice of a friend."

"You are atrocious wretches!" faid the minister to him, without discovering the least emotion; "but," added he, "you are no wifer, after all, than so many children. You mislead the king and the queen, and you will at length ruin them; you imagine yourselves

yourselves the stronger party, and yet you are only a mere nest of intriguers. You may tell all this to your coadjutors, and I now advise you in my turn,—you who pretend to act the part of a friend,—to withdraw yourself from a faction, that will never produce any thing but evil."

This conversation developed to Dumouriez the whole conduct of the Feuillans. Perceiving that they could not enrol the minister among their partisans, notwithstanding his dispute with the opposite party, they meditated his ruin by employing deceit against him, and they had unfortunately prevailed upon the queen to embark in this intrigue, which was still more puerile than perfidious. What had been just told him, explained the mistake fallen into by Lafayette; his indecent letter, of which mention has already been made in the fourth chapter of the present book, was less directed against Roland, Clavieres, and Servan, than Dumouriez; but it became quite miftimed after their expulsion, and the service that the minister had in consequence of it rendered to the king. Notwithstanding all this,

this, the general not only persisted in causing the letter in question to be presented to the assembly, but he himself came to Paris expressly for the purpose of impeaching Dumouriez. It is therefore clear, that this very faction had at first deceived the king and queen in order to induce them to deceive Dumouriez, and having now run him down, they were eager to make him either their victim or their slave. He sighed at this ill-concerted piece of atrocity, which indeed only lightened his mind of a grievous burden, while, on the other hand, the whole danger attached to the royal family.

On the 15th, at ten o'clock in the morning, all the ministers waited on the king, who received them in his closet. Duranton opened the council, and observed with great respect, and even with tenderness, that they came with all imaginable regret on purpose to give in their resignation, because it was impossible, in opposition to their opinion and their conscience, as well as to his interest, to countersign the letter to the president. As he was about to mention the danger of responsibility, Lacoste interrupted him,

him, and in a warm tone of voice faid:
"It is not our responsibility which prevents us, sire, but your own danger; and we conjure you to put a period to it."

The king was much agitated. He turned towards Dumouriez, and faid to him: "Do you still entertain the same sentiments as those mentioned in the letter you sent me last night?"

"Yes, fire, if your majesty will not permit yourself to be convinced by our fidelity, and attachment."

"Very well," replied the king with a very melancholy air, "fince you are determined, I will accept of your refignation; I must apply elsewhere."

Morgues then presented him a paper, observing at the same time, "Sire, here is mine, I deliver it with much regret." The king took it. The two others had not brought theirs in writing, but they gave them verbally.

On leaving the closet, he was accosted by the duke de Nivernois, Laporte, and Septeuil, who were thrown into a state of consternation when he told them what had occurred. occurred. Romainvilliers, who commanded the national guard, came to receive his orders, on account of the new commotions in the suburbs.

"Go and receive the king's commands, and lose no time; I am no longer in office; his majesty has this moment accepted of my refignation." This intelligence appeared to throw an air of melancholy over every face in the castle. He himself was deeply affected; not to quit a dangerous place, which during three months had rendered his existence miserable, but to see all his labours loft, and the king delivered over to the fury of his most cruel enemies, by the criminal indifcretion of his false friends. He waited at home during the whole day for the appearance of his two fuccessours, for although Naillac had been nominated, and was on his journey home (he arrived three days afterwards), he was well convinced that he would be passed over, as the victorious faction would form a council composed entirely of Feuillants, whence Naillac would be excluded.

On the evening of the 15th he wrote a fecond

fecond note to the king, to inform him, that in fo critical a fituation as the prefent, it was not prudent to leave the war department vacant, on account of the necessary communications with the national guard of Paris -he did not receive any answer. The next day, which was the 16th, passed in the fame manner; he however still signed some dispatches which were absolutely necessary for the two departments with which he had been entrusted, notwithstanding his extreme impatience to be gone. All the inhabitants of Paris, and the members of the affembly, by this time knew that he had refigned, and they were perhaps aftonished that he did not go, like Roland, and basely explain the motives that induced him to retire.

During these two days he had not any direct communication with the castle, but he forewarned the queen of her danger, by means of a lady to whom she was greatly attached, and caused her to be advised to prevail upon her august husband to sanction the two decrees; an advice, with which self-interest was not in the remotest degree connected,

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nected, as his refignation had been already delivered in, and accepted. He has fince learned, that this much deceived princess was greatly displeased at this step. At length, on the morning of the 17th, Chambonas made his appearance, and to him he delivered up the papers relative to foreign affairs. Lajarre received those appertaining to the war department. He then retired to the house of the baron de Schomberg, his nephew.

The new council was composed of Duranton and Lacoste, both of whom were forced by the king to remain in place, because the courtiers had reckoned that this would have an appearance of impartiality, and perhaps be the means of treating anew with the Gironde, by means of Duranton, who had been nominated entirely through their influence. They abused the good nature of this man fo far as to make him counterfign the veto, and prefent it to the affembly. He was near being the victim of this conduct; and he was extremely happy, three days after having been guilty of fuch a weakness, to obtain his difmission, and procure leave to return

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and conceal his difgrace in the place of his nativity.

As to Lacoste, he remained in place contrary to his own inclinations, demanding a successfour daily, which was not very easy to be found. He was involved in the catastrophe of the following 10th of August. His colleagues betook themselves to slight; but he, who had not any thing to reproach his conscience with, did not endeavour to conceal himself; he remained at his post, was sent to prison, and afterwards tried.

Chambonas was now minister for foreign affairs; he was an amiable man, but did not possess any knowledge of the business of this department. Lajarre was the minister at war; he had been one of Lafayette's staff, when he was commandant of Paris. Terrier de Monciel, a famous Feuillant, and a man of wit, was placed at the head of the home department, and Joly, belonging to the same faction, was made minister of the sinance.

This administration commenced its career under very finister auspices; on the 17th of June, five days afterwards, it witnessed the insults

infults fuffered by the king in his own apartment. The hope of vengeance, and the engagements entered into by Lafayette, induced it to run into rash and culpable measures, which proved the ruin of Louis XVI on the 10th of August. It soon began to experience some changes. A young man called d'Abancourt, had succeeded Lajarre. Dumouriez, being then with the army, and not having kept up any correspondence with Paris, does not recollect the person who was nominated in the room of Duranton.

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He now wrote once more to the king, to request an audience for the morning of the eighth, on purpose to close his accounts relative to the secret expenses of the foreign department. This last interview having been granted him, he went to the castle. The moment he was seen there, it was supposed that he was about to re-enter into office, and several persons surrounded on purpose to compliment him on the occasion.

The king received him in his closet. This prince had refumed his usual appearance.

Dd 2

Dumouriez

Dumouriez was greatly affected. He prefented his accounts for the last fortnight: for, very different in this respect from his predecessours, he had prevailed upon the king to fettle this business at the end of every fourteen days. He brought him one lift, containing only the fums and the dates when they were paid, but without any specification of persons: it was this which was fent to the diplomatic committee. But he at the same time presented another, containing all the particulars, and a bundle of receipts. This prince examined them with great precision, and as soon as he had figned the first list, the minister and he burnt the explanatory one and the receipts. They were very scrupulous in this respect. Formerly the king retained the explanatory lift, but Dumouriez, who distrusted all the persons that surrounded this prince, had infifted on the suppression with so much warmth, that Louis, partly out of politeness, and partly that none might be injured, at length consented.

When this business was concluded, he delivered to him six sheets of paper containing

taining the accounts during the three months he had prefided at the foreign department; he at the fame time left him a general statement signed by himself, and another containing the amount of the funds of his office, which he left very rich. The king, after evincing much satisfaction relative to the exactness of his accounts, addressed him as follows.

"You are then about to join the army under Luckner?"

"Yes, fire, I am enchanted at leaving this frightful city. I have but one thing to regret, and that is, you are in danger."

"Yes, certainly!"—faid Louis, fighing at

the fame time.

"Well, fire, you can now no longer imagine, that I speak from any interested motive; removed from your council, I shall no longer approach your person: it is therefore from sidelity, it is from the purest attachment, that I dare once more, and that for the last time, supplicate you, out of love to your country, out of regard for your own safety, and that of your crown, in the name of your august consort, and of your D d 3 interesting

interesting children, not to persist in your fatal resolution of applying your veto to the two decrees. This obstinacy will not be in the least beneficial, and will assuredly prove your ruin."

"Do not speak any more to me on this

fubject, my refolution is fixed -."

"Ah, fire, you told me the same thing, when in this very apartment, and in prefence of the queen, you pledged your word to me that you would fanction them."

"I was in the wrong, and I repent of my conduct."

"Sire, I shall never see you again; pardon therefore my frankness, for I am sifty-three years old, and I possess experience. It was not then you were in the wrong, but at present. Your conscience has been misled relative to the decree concerning the priests: they are leading you into a civil war; you are destitute of forces, you must therefore succumb, and while history pities, it will at the same time blame you, for having occasioned the misfortunes of France in consequence of ill-timed scruples. You know how much ridicule this very circumstance

circumstance has thrown on the memory of James II. I still more dread the danger you are exposed to by your friends, than what you are likely to endure from your enemies."

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The king was at this moment feated near the table where he had been figning the accounts. Dumouriez was standing by his fide with his hands joined. Louis placed his hand on that of Dumouriez, and faid to him with a very melancholy air: "God is my witness, that I wish only for the happiness of France."

I doubt it not, fire," rejoined he with tears in his eyes, and penetrated at the fame time with the most lively fensibility, " but you owe an account to God, not only of the purity, but also of the enlightened employment of your intentions. You think that you will fave religion; you will, on the contrary, destroy it. The priests will be massacred, and your crown will be snatched from you. Perhaps, you yourfelf, your With this, he applied his lips to the hand of

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Louis, who on his fide shed tears. A profound silence of a few seconds ensued.

The king squeezed his hand.

" Sire, if the French nation knew you but as well as I do, all our ills would foon be at an end. You defire the happiness of France; to obtain this, it is necessary that you should make a facrifice of your own fcruples. They, who direct your conduct, are blinded by their own interest ill understood, and by the spirit of faction, which misleads every body during the period of a revolution. You have facrificed yourfelf to the nation, ever fince 1789; continue your career, and the commotions will cease, the constitution will be completed, the French will resume their original character, the rest of your reign will be happy, and its stability will be founded on fixed and certain laws. Had there been a constitution before your time, you would never have experienced the crowd of ills that now affails you. You are still the arbiter of your own fate; your foul is pure; confide in a man exempt from factions and prejudices, in one word, who has always told you the truth."

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"I expect death," replied the king, forrowfully, "and I pardon them beforehand; I am indebted to you for your fensibility, you have served me faithfully, I esteem you, and if happier days should ever arrive, I will afford you proofs of my regard."

He then arose with precipitation, and went and placed himself at a window at the other end of the apartment. Dumouriez slowly collected his papers, that he might have time to compose his countenance and prevent the courtiers from observing his melancholy as he retired, for this long conference had undoubtedly excited their curiosity. The king, who heard him open the door, made some steps in order to approach him, and then said to him very affectionately: "Adieu; I wish you all manner of happiness!"

This last interview has always remained profoundly engraven on the mind of Dumouriez. Assuredly it must also have often recurred to the memory of this unfortunate monarch, during his imprisonment, and at the moment of his death.

He met his friend Laporte as he went out,

out, whom he also now saw for the last time; they shut themselves up together in an apartment, and he recounted to him the particulars of this affecting scene. Laporte then said to him; "You advised me to demand leave to retire; I intended to do so, but I have since changed my opinion; my master is in danger, and I will share his fate."

"If I myself were attached as you are to the personal service of his majesty," replied his friend, "I should think and act as you do; I esteem your affectionate devotion, and I love you the more for it; each of us is faithful; although in a different manner, you to Louis, and I to the king of the French; may we both some day felicitate him on his happiness!" They now embraced for the last time, with tears.

After this he went home, and did not return any more either to the castle or the assembly, or to any other place where it was possible for him to meet with the deputies of any of the factions, the ministers, or the courtiers. Living during nine days in the bosom of friendship, with his nephew

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and niece, in a distant part of the city, frequenting only folitary walks in company with a few friends, and entirely occupied about official accounts, he learned on the 21st with the utmost grief, that the king had been infulted; he could not be of any fervice to him, he therefore shut himself up at home, but Lacoste came and communicated the particulars. The noble tranquillity of the prince, and the majestic courage displayed by the queen and madame Elizabeth, renewed all his fenfibility. The faithful Lacoste exhibited the utmost courage on this occasion, and always remained close to the king. He told Dumouriez that at the last council, while converfing about a dispatch, this prince had made an eulogium upon him, and he, in return, now begged his former colleague to affure his majesty of his respect and affection.

On the 17th and 18th he had it in his power to be revenged on Lafayette, if his mind had been susceptible of crime and of cruelty. This general had come to Paris, and presented himself before the national

tional affembly under the imprudent pretext of being the deputy of his army, whose fignatures affixed to a petition he had brought along with him, on purpose to attack the late administration and the Jacobins, whom he always absurdly affected to confound together. His faction was now triumphant in consequence of the dismission of Dumouriez, and the choice of four new ministers, who were devoted to himself.

A party of national guards had been tampered with beforehand, and he was efcorted by them to the affembly; he was very well received there, although the majority disapproved of his proceedings. The Jacobins were affrighted at the idea of his triumph; they wished to oppose another leader to him, and, notwithstanding their animosity against Dumouriez, supposing from his voluntary retreat that he must have acted honestly, they ferretted out the place of his residence, and sent two deputies to him, who waited upon and solicited him to repair to the club.

"If you will but appear there this night," faid they, "you shall certainly be revenged.

revenged. We are all ready; the dictator has a guard of a hundred men who furround his house, but we shall march there, and as we are sure of having the people on our side, he shall most certainly perish."

He shuddered at this proposition. He told them in reply, that his private interest was entirely out of the question; that he would never call in any one to his assistance when he wished to revenge himself; and that this motive alone was sufficient to prevent him from appearing in their hall; that he was entirely occupied in preparing his accounts, that he might immediately return to the army, and that it was there he would exercise a vengeance worthy of his patriotism, by challenging Lasayette to meet the enemy, in imitation of Cæsar's two centurions Pulsio and Varenus.

It was thus that he got rid of them; and that he prevented a massacre, which would have ensued, for the two parties were at that time very considerable, and exceedingly incensed against each other. Not-withstanding this, those attached to the

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king must have been overwhelmed, as actually occurred three days afterwards, in consequence of the cowardice of his adherents during the insults of the 21st of June. In truth, Lafayette had then taken his departure.

Dumouriez on that occasion, prevented this general from profiting by his triumph, he is truly estimable; and this is indeed likely, on account of the acknowledged frankness and mildness of his character. But having gone all the way to Paris, and made himfelf certain of the assistance of more than half the national guard, it is associating that he should have contented himself with a vain parade, which became an act of imprudence, and proved the complete ruin of his faction. He was from that time considered as more vain than ambitious.

Scarcely had he set out on his return, when the assembly censured his conduct, and deemed it exceedingly reprehensible. It was so in fact. An army can never be converted into a deliberative body; and the general, who charges himself with the office

of being its deputy, renders himself highly culpable. After ading such a part as this, he ought to have taken advantage of the astonishment produced by it.

A decree was now enacted preventing a general from leaving his army in future without obtaining permission, and Marat has since endeavoured to pervert this decree, so as to affect general Dumouriez, who on his return from Champagne, during the march of his army towards the Low Countries, had repaired to Paris, after having fent notice of his intentions to the administration, and this too, solely with the intention of spending four days in order to arrange with them the necessary dispositions for the campaign.

No minister could leave Paris before he had delivered in his accounts, and been authorised to do so by means of an express decree. Dumouriez had occupied two departments, but having been minister at war only for three days, and having taken care not to affix his name to any paper which might render him responsible, he in reality had not any accounts to deliver in but what related to foreign affairs.

On the 22d he wrote to the president of the affembly, and transmitted a statement of the expenses of the foreign department, informing him at the same time that none had occurred during the three days he had been at the head of the war department, because he had not iffued any money, excepting fuch as his predecessour was accountable for; he at the same time announced, that he wished for a decree as foon as possible, which might restore him to his military functions, and that he only waited for it, to fet off in order to gain marshal Luckner's army. The very next day the chairman of the diplomatic committee delivered in a report relative to the accounts of the ex-minister. and having stated them to be conformable to the regulations, a decree was accordingly paffed on the 24th, and he departed on the 26th.

These accounts were very exact and very short; they consisted of three parts, and were drawn up on three separate sheets of paper. The first contained the ostensible details of the three months of his administration: it was accompanied by vouchers and receipts. The economical reforms made

by him, were at the fame time mentioned, which left a confiderable fum in hand, without affecting the current expences; this was verified by the fignature of his fuccessour Chambonas. The second confifted of a certificate figned by the king. of the fecret expences of two hundred and fifty thousand livres a month, always allowed to the department of foreign affairs; there remained out of the feven hundred and fifty thousand livres for the three months nearly three hundred thousand; therefore the current fecret expences did not amount to more than four hundred and fifty, or five hundred thousand livres; and notwithstanding this, many improper payments had taken place, during the first month, in consequence of the mere written orders of his predecessours. All the arrears of the fecret pensions allowed to foreigners, and fome expences liquidated in consequence of the verbal orders of the king, are also to be included. The third confifted fimply of the fecret expences which were paid out of the famous fix millions. The fum total of these was four hundred and fifty thousand VOL. II. Ee livres;

livres; there accordingly remained with Amelot five millions five hundred and fifty, thousand livres.

The furprise of the affembly was extreme. It had been afferted in private conversation, and in print, that Dumouriez had certainly purloined these fix millions, because he would not entrust them to his treasurer Bidermann; and it was always imagined, that he kept them at home, as he had never mentioned their being left in the national treasury. The deputies belonging to all the different parties went themselves to verify the fact by means of Amelot. The Jacobins also fent their emissaries thither, and then all the world rendered justice to the difinterestedness and economy of the exminister. content ance of the trief writing

Brissot was the reporter of the diplomatic committee; it was therefore likely that the accounts were very regular, else he would not have forgotten to find fault with them. He was connected with Bidermann and Clavières; and their rivals had published pamphlets, in which they were accused of having become the minister's enemies, merely because

because he would not deliver the fix millions into their hands, that they might employ them in stock-jobbing, and in purchasing thirteen thousand shares of the East India company's actions. Brissot had challenged the minister to disavow this calumny; but he had not deigned to return him any answer. The vindictive Brissot would accordingly have been happy to have discovered any errour in his accounts; but, on the contrary, he was forced to declare them exact.

Those very Jacobins, who were then just, have since given credit to the horrible calumny of Hassenscatz, who accused Dumouriez of having robbed the public of twelve hundred thousand livres in consequence of the contracts made in the Low Countries, and also of having gotten possession of the Antwerp loan; an absurd charge, for it was necessary on this occasion that he should have a great number of accomplices, whereas in respect to the six millions, he might have pocketed two or three without the knowledge of any person, and even without being obliged to render

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any account whatever, of the manner in which they were employed.

The French did him justice at the period when he refigned his place in the administration. They have been unjust since, because the crimes committed by them during the interval have rendered them atrocious. He is far however from wishing to confound the whole nation in this severe judgment. All the worthy people of France, and they are still the greater number, although the time is not yet come for them to declare themselves, have always done justice to him, as he has done to them.

When the reign of anarchy, and the triumph of villains shall have passed away, they will then read these memoirs; and the whole nation, which cannot entertain any manner of doubt respecting the sacts that have so recently occurred before its own eyes, will recognize the real patriotism of General Dumouriez, his disinterestedness, his attachment to the constitution, and consequently to the constitutional king, and the services, both political and military,

which he has rendered to his native country. They will then no longer blame his conduct; even those, who instigated the barbarous decree of proscription against him will blush. If he be then of an age at which he can prove useful to his country, he will devote himself anew to her services; if he be dead, his wishes will have anticipated this moral revolution, which he can now with confidence predict; because it will infallibly occur, and will be produced by the excess of evils, and the impoffibility of fuftaining liberty by means of an abfurd government, founded on barbarity, terrour, and the subversion of all the principles necessary for the maintenance of human focieties.

He fet out from Paris for the army, still poorer than at his entrance into office, after having had the disposal of several millions, during three months. He left the king under the direction of persidious counsellors; the assembly torn in pieces by means of factions ready to come to blows; the capital replete with discord, preparing for a civil war, silled with banditti from all the provinces, E e 3 under

under the name of federates, and of affaffins, whom the court wished to oppose to them, and on whom the people conferred the odious appellation of "knights of the poniard."

He there left consternation, distrust, and hatred, which were discoverable even amidst the frivolity of the unhappy Parisians. He considered the army as the sole asylum where an honest man could still remain in security. Death at least presented itself there under the attractive aspect of glory, and was not accompanied with the horrour of the guillotine, assassination, and the barbarous sury of a sanguinary populace. This, which is but too saithful a description of a former period, is a picture of Albano, in comparison with the hell of Michael Angelo, which the present times exhibit to us,

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SUCH were the principal events of the ministerial life of Dumouriez; they have impressed on his mind a degree of antipathy to this kind of public employment, which he thinks he shall retain during the remainder of his life. It is necessary, that a man should either possess an exalted patriotism, or an insatiable ambition, to aspire to such tempessuous situations, surrounded as they are with snares and calumnies. It is but too readily discovered, that mankind scarcely deserve the pains that are taken to govern them.

Dumouriez fometimes laughs fardonically in his retreat, at the manner in which his conduct has been decried. When he entered into administration, the courtiers said,

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and published every where, that he was a mere military adventurer, incapable of directing political affairs, in which he would only commit blunders. When he was at the head of an army, they affirmed to the Prussians and the Imperialists, that he was a man of letters, who had never seen fervice, and that he did not understand any thing of military affairs.

Since he has retired from public employments with reputation, they have afferted, that until the revolution he was an intriguing adventurer, a fpy employed by the ministers, and a mere sweeper of their offices. The particulars of his life have been detailed in the first two books, and also the means by which he arrived at the same rank at the same age with themselves. Would to God, they had employed their youth in fimilar purfuits! They would not then have commenced the revolution like fo many factious men, they would have conducted it with fagacity, they would have preferved the esteem of the nation, and they would not have been the first authors of the king's death, either by betraying or abandoning him.

During

During the three months of his adminiftration. Dumouriez endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the constitution and the king, the nation and Louis XVI. It so happened however, that he was not only aided by no one, but that the different parties declared against him, at first one after the other, and then all at once. An universal delirium took place throughout France. All the opinions of all the factions became exaggerated. Some attached themselves to the king as to a God, and deemed every excess lawful, that might reestablish the idol of despotism. The fanaticism of these excited another criminal fanaticism, that of the Jacobins, who avowed a deadly enmity to all kings, and who from the dread of having any, have given themfelves vile tyrants.

Between these two extremes a band of rogues, more or less hardy, have endeavoured to gain consequence by changing parties, and fluttering about on the wings of these foolish factions. These ephemeral Parisian heroes mutually extol and crush each other. Liberty was the word, at the found of which

which they rallied: in the opinion of the people, this fignified license. The rogues of the second order, who wished to occupy the places of the first, then raised the war-whoop of equality. The populace had its villains also, who calculated that this equality would elevate them above the commercial aristocracy. The Jacobins, who began to think it was their turn to govern, cried out for a republic, and this produced anarchy.

It is impossible to make the nation ascend though that scale of reason, which it has descended with the rapidity of a mass that rolls from the top of a mountain over a precipice. The serpent recoils upon itself. Its tail, which is anarchy, re-enters into its mouth, which is despotism. Such is the vicious circle of bad institutions. It is thus that extremes meet, and that contraries cure themselves by means of contraries.

There is one great truth, which the experience of the misfortunes and the crimes of France ought deeply to engrave on the minds of all nations, and this is, that there are certain existing rights, of which, out of regard regard to their own happiness, they ought never to make use; that, for example, of enacting laws, and that of employing force against laws already made. Nations cannot be too enlightened in respect to the first of these rights: but they will then perceive that they ought to delegate it to a very small number of very sagacious and experienced persons, whenever they are obliged to have recourse to it. If Lycurgus, Solon, Minos, Numa, or Consucius, had laboured in company with a numerous national assembly, they would never have achieved a code of laws; it would have been the same with Frederic the great, and Catharine II.

By means of pilfering from the ancients and the moderns, the constituent assembly had nevertheless found means, in the midst of the tempests which prevailed within its bosom, to form a grand and beautiful work, the constitution. But it was a statue of gold placed on a pedestal of clay. The nation did not wish to complete it. The king, or rather those who surrounded him, endeavoured to sap it basis; and the constitutional

tional party themselves, out of hatred to the succeeding legislature, employed the chissel and the mallet for no other purpose than to mutilate it.

Foreign powers also interfered. The court of France cried out to the other courts of Europe: "You will be all ruined, if the French constitution be suffered to exist!" Unfortunately this was believed.

The French people then, in their turn, exclaimed to all other nations: "Rise in a mass, and join us!" The Jacobins have gone still further; abusing every thing, they have destroyed every thing,—constitution, laws, and religion. It is fince that period only that they have ceased to be dangerous, for it is impossible for a single nation on earth, not to hold them in abhorrence.

The constitution would not have rendered the French dangerous; on the contrary, being founded on a pure morality, and wise principles, it would have guarrantied the neighbouring nations from that restless ambition, which has caused their blood to flow so often. They will return to it from necessity, necessity, after having exhausted all the horrours of anarchy, and perhaps all the crimes of despotism.

It is however doubtful whether the latter will establish itself in France, because the people have made an ill use of it, as well as of liberty. If it enter into France at the head of foreign armies, it will not be able to fix itself there, and the lassitude of dangers and of crimes will give place to reason; not to that guillotine kind of reason which they have substituted in the place of the ancient worship: this will also be annihilated after immolating its authors.

During his administration Durnouriez fighed at the excesses then committed. These excesses were mere trisles in comparison to those that have followed; and every three months they have increased in such a manner, as to become at length monstrous crimes. It is at this period, that their progress should be retrograde, in order to cease entirely.

The campaign of 1794, which is now about to open, ought to decide this criss. In the month of June or July, at the latest,

the fate of France will be determined. The departments demand peace; they feel their calamities. The convention and the Jacobins cry out for war, because they are confcious of their own danger. They ought to exclaim: "War or death!" The day that peace takes place will be the signal for the cessation of their reign, unless this peace should be the price of their victories, and of the humiliation of all Europe, which is not probable.

The allies and the Jacobins equally wish for a battle; it will be bloody and decifive. If the anarchists should lose it, the departments will destroy both the convention and the Jacobins. Paris, which has afforded an example of blindness, will also afford an example of returning reason. The monsters will flee, and will not find any retreat on that earth which they have fullied with their atrocious crimes. In all probability the Jacobins will not be able to furvive the first check received by the nation, and the advance of the victorious armies towards the borders of the Seine, It is then that good men will once more raise their heads.

heads, that the nation will resume its character, and that all the people of Europe may hope for peace.

May that happy epoch quickly restore wisdom and humanity, which seem to be banished from a war of a new kind, and of which the annals of the world, although amply stored with follies and with cruelties, cannot furnish a similar example.

But how many families will remain miferable in the midst of general felicity! It is only the next generation that will begin to enjoy it; the present is condemned to forrow and want of the comforts of life.

All the inhabitants of France, to whatever factions they may appertain, and whether they be *Moderates*, or *Impartialifts*, whatever are their ages, their fexes, or their conditions, are the victims of this hideous revolution. Those whom it has already cut off are perhaps the least to be lamented. Those who have acted any great part on the scene have led a life of misery. The most reasonable have been calumniated; neither virtue, nor principle, have guarrantied any person.

heart

To wish to be wife in the midst of fools. is still more ridiculous than to wish to be a fool in the midst of wise men. This however is what has actually occurred to fome, who, directed by that goodness which proceeds from principle, have had the chimerical prefumption to think they should be able to put a stop to the impetuous passions of their fellow citizens: it was thus that Dumouriez left administration, hated by all the factions, because they were factions, and that he had remained impartial. He does not reproach himself on account of his conduct, but he regrets the share which he had, in spite of himself, in public affairs. It is necessary for him, that he should be tried by his contemporaries, because the facts are recent. His intentions may be disfigured, but facts cannot be altered, and they will get the better of calumny.

He hopes that when the French peruse these memoirs, which were terminated on the 10th of February 1794, they will have recovered from their delirium, that they will acknowledge, to whatever faction they may happen to belong, that his pen, his

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heart, his head, and his fword, have all been useful to his country during this terrible crifis: that he has ferved it as far as he was able without being criminal; that it was the villainy of Marat and the other affaffins of Louis which forced him to leave it; that his infurrection was meditated only against monsters; and that the moment he perceived, that it might be perverted to the profit, tend to ferve the ambition of foreigners, or become detrimental to his native country, he instantly threw down his arms, refolved not to ferve against her, although he had been calumniated and profcribed, and a price fet upon his head. He hopes every thing from time and the school of adversity, in favour of a nation worthy of a better fate. Its crimes will be effaced, and it will not only refume its virtues, but acquire new ones, which have always hitherto been wanting: moderation and prudence.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

heart the head from the distant bank and dread address sin contain Common aid on history sell and the his bevolt and be sade palling way able winner being comments able to was the william of Michigan and the called Manine of Louis which forced him to be well it; that his inforcation was meditally bely. against monders; and that the monte has perceived, that it might be perverted; to the profit, tend to ferve the applican of the religioner, en la come et l'acert les faire par tive course, herings up threw down the arms, and or indicate of the stands of the law. PATTISH 20 AP 71 to the standar glad too his his bas. the state drifty some way orimpos and H. Deymount againsw deed onedsid AND THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY.

